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The Shape of Things

THE REPLACEMENT OF LOY HENDERSON AND his clique in the State Department is a move President Truman can no longer avoid making if he has any regard for his own prestige and that of his high office. The post of Special Adviser on Palestine to the Secretary of State is more necessary today than it was when General Hilldring was appointed. Now that illness has prevented Hilldring from assuming his duties, another appointment should be made at once. The name which first comes to mind is that of Sumner Welles, who not only is one of our most experienced diplomats and a former Under-Secretary of State, but has the added qualification of understanding that the survival of Israel is essential to the security and democratic development of the Middle East. Unless Welles or an equally trustworthy person is chosen promptly, we may expect continued collusion between the British Foreign Office and the State Department, repeated sabotage of Presidential decisions, and increasing strife in Palestine which may well involve the rest of the world.

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WHEN PRESIDENT TRUMAN RECOGNIZED THE state of Israel, it was generally assumed that the move would be backed with action, in and out of the United Nations. The assumption was a dream that lasted for exactly a week. Then the real and unaltered attitude of the State Department asserted itself, and the sapping operations began. After the Arab rejection of the Security Council's appeal to cease fire, the United States, instead of reintroducing its resolution invoking Article 39, left it to the Soviet Union to do so, knowing full well the prejudice against any Russian-sponsored resolution. We neither backed the Soviet Union when it charged the Arab states with responsibility for the failure of the cease-fire appeal, nor challenged the British on their failure to carry out their pledge of April 17 to withdraw the Arab Legion from Palestine before the mandate ended. We did not vote down, as we should have done, the original British truce resolution, which was aimed directly at the Jews; we did not propose a single decent amendment to the British text; we did not answer the inquiry of Belgium and Canada as to what action we were prepared to take if Article 39 were invoked. It was France which prevented the Security Council from banning Jewish immigration into Palestine during the four-week truce. It was Colombia which asked the British whether they would continue to arm the Arabs even if they should refuse to cease fire. It was Canada which restricted the role of the mediator to the functions assigned to him under the resolution of the General Assembly of May 14. It was we who introduced an amendment under which the British and the Arabs alike could justify blockade of Palestine territorial waters, hemming in the Jewish state.

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HAD THE RUSSIAN RESOLUTION PASSED, THE Arab states would have been named as aggressors and exposed to political and military defeat. This the British prevented. Under the truce resolution as adopted, the Jews have been stopped in their tracks by an international arms embargo, while at the same time the Arab Legion, said to have an eight-months' reserve supply of British arms, and the other forces of the Arab states remain in position *inside Palestine* as a continuing threat to the Jewish state. It was for this that the United States eventually voted. Obviously, the intention of the British is to destroy Jewish resistance and force a negotiated peace with a weakened Israel, reduced in size and prepared to accept terms that will insure Britain's firm control of strategic bases, with the Negev as one certain prize of war. Thus, British maneuvering has again succeeded, with State Department help, in undermining the decision of the President of the United States and the last fragment of United Nations authority. It is up to Mr. Truman now to show whether he or Mr. Bevin determines American foreign policy. The President can approve an immediate loan to Israel; announce that the United States will help arm Haganah once the truce period is over; and, equally important, can tell the British people that this country will not continue to support Mr. Bevin's policy in Palestine.

*

MEN WHO ARE NOT EASILY DISTINGUISHED from Nazis took a big stride toward political power in South Africa last week. It required a relatively small transfer of votes from one side to the other in the general elections to eject Field Marshal Smuts's United Party from office. The new Premier, Dr. D. F. Malan, is an old man who is himself in the parliamentary tradition, but he is surrounded by a sinister group of younger

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men, who proved, during the war against Hitler, how little they believed in democracy. Since the Nationalist Party, in cooperation with the less extreme Afrikaner Party, has won only a bare majority, a period of unsettled politics lies ahead, and the constitution may be subjected to strain. The people who have reason to be most disturbed by the advent of the new government are the 9,000,000 Africans who form three-quarters of the total population. They know that the main issue in the elections was whether a faintly liberal native policy would be preferable to an openly repressive one, and now the white electorate has given its answer in favor of the latter. Unless the Nationalists not only curb the Nazi elements in their ranks but also reveal more statesmanship in office than they ever did in opposition, conflict between the white and the black races in South Africa is likely to attain new dimensions in the coming years.

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THE SETTLEMENT OF THE GENERAL MOTORS wage dispute is welcome as a precedent which may help industrial peace in automobiles and elsewhere. The terms of the settlement itself are unusually interesting. Wages are raised above the 1940 level by approximately the amount of the increase of consumers' prices above that level. They are to be adjusted periodically in the future as the cost of living goes up or down—though downward adjustments are limited to 5 per cent during the two-year life of the contract. In addition, the workers are to get an increase of 3 per cent a year—this representing an estimate of the annual gain in production per head. In other words, this adjustment says, what the General Motors workers got in 1940 was a fair share of the national product at the time. Adjustments to correspond with price changes will maintain the same real wage. As the national product increases, the automobile workers will also get their share of that increase. This formula should satisfy everybody except those who want—or need—a greater share of the product at the expense of others.

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THE TROUBLE WITH WITCH-HUNTING, AS the good citizens of Salem discovered long ago, is that eventually the best people, the original hunters of witches, come under suspicion themselves. It becomes impossible, in the final stage, to tell witch is witch. This ancient law has been demonstrated again in the spectacle of a staunch Republican Congressman, Fred L. Crawford, bringing about the resignation of a staunch industrialist, John C. Virden, a special assistant to the Secretary of Commerce, because Virden's daughter, Euphemia, has taken a job with Tass, the Soviet news agency. Mr. Virden, who denounced his daughter and handed in his resignation with a speed and an abjectness no Soviet official in similar case could better, withdrew

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the resignation after both his chief, Charles Sawyer, and President Truman came to his support. We are waiting for the next sequence, when it will be discovered that Representative Crawford has a third cousin who has a friend whose grandson has been observed reading the *Daily Worker*.

*

NEW VIOLENCE HAS FLARED UP IN THE seven-months-old strike at the famous Di Giorgio Ranch in California. While the strike committee of the National Farm Labor Union was in session at the home of one of the members in Arvin, four volleys of shot were poured into the dwelling from an unidentified car, seriously wounding James Price, chairman of the union's strike committee. Governor Warren, in requesting the state attorney general to investigate, declared that "this brutal assault, climaxing the cruel and fascist methods used to break the Di Giorgio strike, is too grave a matter for the local police to handle." In the meantime, this A. F. of L. union has called a strike of cotton choppers in Fresno County in protest against an hourly wage cut of 65 cents, and the Food, Tobacco, and Agricultural Workers Union (C. I. O.) has called a strike of asparagus cutters in the rich delta farmlands of San Joaquin County. California is again producing "grapes of wrath."

*

POLITICAL OVERTONES WERE UNMISTAKABLE in the address delivered by Justice William O. Douglas in Denver. While the occasion itself—the arrival of the Freedom Train—was innocent of politics, the character of the reception showed with what favor important elements in Colorado look upon the Justice's possible candidacy. Quigg Newton, Denver's progressive thirty-six-year-old mayor, served as a law clerk for Mr. Douglas when he was a member of the Securities and Exchange Commission and is known to be interested in the Douglas boom. In his speech, Justice Douglas refused to accept a choice between appeasement of the Soviet Union and war, demanding instead a demonstration of the power and effectiveness of democracy. He paid his respects at length to communism as it is practiced, "an operation . . . as destructive of democratic values as the czarism that preceded it or the fascism whose mad march we stopped only recently." But, he insisted, "the real victory over communism will be won in the factories and rice fields of the world rather than on the battlefields." In foreign policy, "the flood tide of communism will begin to recede" when we stop supporting the "governments that are self-seeking, corrupt, or fascist" and "stand behind the liberal and progressive forces in other countries." Whether or not Justice Douglas is a Presidential candidate, these are statesman-like words, and they come as a fresh shower in a campaign year that has so far been singularly barren of statesmanship.

No Strike, No Solution

THE threatened railway strike was averted when the government "took over" the railroad companies, but the dispute which gave rise to the danger of a stoppage has not been settled. What prevented the strike was no actual change in the situation but a legal formality. Technically, the railroad workers have become government employees; this means that, according to legal precedent, the courts may enjoin a strike and enforce obedience to an injunction by appropriate penalties. The private employers, however, have made no concessions beyond those they were willing to make before.

Accordingly, the labor organizations in question have urged the government to assume the responsibilities which ought to go with the powers it has exercised. They demand that "the government, having designated itself as the operator of the railroads, assume the full responsibility of operation; that the government take control of the revenues of the railroads as it already has taken control of the employees of the railroads, and proceed to bargain upon wages and working conditions."

The plain inference is that if this is not done, the government will have acted not merely to protect the public but also to protect the employers against the full bargaining power of the unions. If the railroad managements know that under no circumstances will a strike be permitted, they have only to stand pat on any concession or lack of concession they wish, confident that the government will take over the roads so as to keep their employees at work, while they continue to collect the revenues, without any changes whatever in wages.

This is contrary to the text and the theory of the law governing railway labor relations. The law specifies a carefully considered process of adjustment, but in the end, if no agreement is reached, the law does not forbid a strike. It was believed necessary to leave the possibility of strike action open in order that anything like genuine bargaining might occur. It was hoped that the serious nature of the ultimate resort might influence both sides to avoid an open breach—as it usually has in the past.

It must also be pointed out, however, that the theory of the law rested on an unreal assumption. In fact, a general railroad strike in a modern, highly integrated economy cannot be permitted and will not be permitted if there is any way to prevent it. In this circumstance, the old concept of collective bargaining enforced by the ultimate power of employees collectively to withdraw their labor becomes an abstraction which does not fit the situation. Such collective bargaining as may occur must be a matter of reasonable adjustment between agencies which will have kept on working at the joint enterprise in any case.

But if the railroads are so important that strikes cannot

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be allowed, should they not be publicly owned? Should wages, hours, and working rules be left to the final discretion of those who, legally at any rate, are supposed to represent private owners? On this ground, too, the unions have a good case. Nevertheless, as a practical matter it is not by any means certain that if the government did actually become the employer it would or could make substantially greater concessions than the private employers themselves. Public employees, unionized or not, do not as a rule fare better than those in private industry.

There is an excellent case to be made out for nationalization of the railroads, but it is a much broader one than the argument that it would permit greater justice in labor relations. The proposal could be soundly supported only by a thoroughgoing demonstration that on the whole it would lead to better service to the public at lower cost. If it did, the railroad workers, like all the rest of us, would justly benefit.

In the meantime, the parties to the dispute in such industries as railroads and mines ought, in their own joint interest, to prevent the extreme crisis which invites governmental intervention to avert or stop an interruption of production. The government in this case necessarily ceases to be a neutral; it must perforce throw its influence on the side of the unions, as it has in numerous instances in the case of coal, or on the side of management, as it has so far in the railroad dispute. The precedent becomes more dangerous the more often it is invoked, and neither side can be sure that it will benefit in the long run.

Congressional Jitters

REPORTS from Washington indicate a growing nervousness among Republican leaders over the shocking state of affairs on Capitol Hill. Hurried meetings have been called to discuss the legislative log-jam, and one G. O. P. Senator has gone to the length of suggesting a voluntary limit on debate. This drastic proposal, which has been compared to "putting a cork in Vesuvius," will certainly be rejected, but there is no doubt that party chiefs have cause for alarm. Here is the first Congress they have controlled in fourteen years, about to expire with the greater part of its work undone and most of its pledges unredeemed.

In the campaign of 1946, these same leaders talked long and loud about supplanting the disorderly methods of the New Dealers with the sound and business-like procedures of the G. O. P. Yet with the session scheduled to end in just about two weeks, at least a dozen key measures remain to be acted on, along with ten major appropriation bills that are still in a state of chaos. A quick survey of the four most crucial areas of legislation will show at a glance why Senator Taft, Speaker Martin, and their colleagues are jittery about the June 19 deadline they have set for themselves:

Foreign Policy: The Emergency Recovery Program was passed and the machinery set up, but funds have yet to be appropriated. Diehards in the House still hope to slash the amount. Meanwhile, the system of reciprocal trade treaties, basic to our foreign policy, has been ham-

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strung by the House. The question is whether Senate Republican leaders can induce their House colleagues to backtrack in time; if not, the whole system may go by the board. Rival proposals on reforming the U. N., slated to go before both houses, cannot possibly be reconciled in the few weeks ahead.

National Defense: U. M. T. has been virtually abandoned, and the draft faces a bitter fight on the floor of the Senate, where its passage has been complicated by the question of segregation in the armed forces.

Housing: The Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill, passed by the Senate, is stuck fast in the House Banking and Currency Committee. Chairman Wolcott, determined to kill the public-housing provision of the bill, has privately indicated that there will be no action this session. Representative Douglas's petition to force the bill to the floor is still short 100 names. (A fuller discussion of the status of the petition will be found in the Letters-to-the-Editor section on page 642 of this issue.)

Civil Rights: The anti-lynching bill, thought to have had a good chance of passing, is stymied in committees of both chambers. Efforts may be made to attach it as a rider, even to the bill eliminating discriminatory taxes on oleomargarine, but the chances of success are almost nil. Pledged to pass some legislation in this field, Republican Senate leaders now lean to the anti-poll-tax bill, but so far no time has been set for its consideration. A federal fair-employment-practices bill was favorably reported by the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, but it is not even being considered by the appropriate committee in the House.

Apart from legislation in these crucial fields, Congress must decide between now and June 19 what it will do about other controversial matters that it would normally take five months to deliberate. The Senate still has to put through a bill to admit displaced persons that will be liberal enough to match the measure recommended by the House Judiciary Committee. House and Senate leaders have yet to agree on how much to increase the pay of federal employees. A long-range farm program is on the Senate calendar, with no chance of action, while neither house has yet moved to extend the farm-price-support program another year. The Mundt bill, which passed the House with such a fanfare, faces extended hearings in the Senate, with the happy prospect of dying in that chamber.

Bills calling for an increase in the minimum-wage law have been thrashed out in committees all through the session, but in spite of Administration pressure there appears to be slight chance of action. The same goes for expansion of social-security benefits. Tenure of the Atomic Energy Commission members has yet to be fixed, and the prospects are that the Republicans will let the issue ride, leaving the commissioners with only temporary appointments so that they can be replaced in the event of a Republican victory in November. The Senate has passed the Taft bill for federal aid to education, but the House subcommittee in charge of the bill has not even scheduled meetings on the measure. And Congress has yet to take serious steps to curb inflation, although a raft of bills have been introduced on the subject and the Republicans rode into office two years ago largely on their promise to curb rising prices.

With all this left undone, what have the Republicans to show for their two years of control on Capitol Hill? Apart from E. R. P., which was certainly not of their own inspiration, they can point only to the Taft-Hartley act and a reduction of taxes that is almost certain to prove temporary. Some of the pressing legislation cited above will be passed, of course, in the wild rush of the closing weeks, but the spectacle will hardly add to the prestige of the party leadership. There is indeed always the possibility that the deadline will be lifted, but that would keep Congressmen in Washington after the conventions. And that might prove even more embarrassing to G. O. P. campaign strategists than sticking to the schedule. Having just committed themselves to a high-sounding platform at Philadelphia, they might have to explain to prospective voters why, with control of a Congress still in session, they were taking no steps to make good their pledges. That is a question that normally—and safely—comes *after* an election, not before.

Italy After the Election

BY MARIO ROSSI

Rome, May 23

NOW that the Christian Democrats have an absolute majority in both houses of Italy's Parliament and De Gasperi is sure of undisputed rule for the next five years, Italians are wondering how he will use his immense power. The new government, announced today, gives some indication of what he will do—or try to do. The inclusion of the moderate Socialists and Republicans is significant. De Gasperi realizes the need and the popular craving for reform, and he does not underestimate the value of Pacciardi and Saragat in the Cabinet.

The Premier hates being called a reactionary, and I assume he is sincere when he speaks of reform. At the same time he is largely responsible for the fact that 90 per cent of the Christian Democratic deputies and senators represent interests completely opposed to social change. Having devoted his main effort to the fight against communism, he chose his party candidates in the

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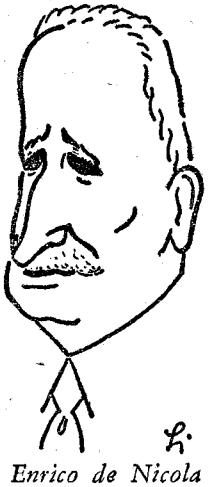
light of this aim. The inclusion of a few moderate leftists in the government will help answer the charge that it is reactionary, but they cannot seriously affect Cabinet decisions any more than they have done in the past. De-Gasperi's plan as far as international considerations are concerned is to make his government acceptable to the other countries of Western Europe and to America.

Even if the Premier, under liberal pressure, should try to introduce some reforms, the same thing would happen, I believe, as in 1946, when he was abandoned by the right parties and the Vatican because of his cooperation with Socialists and Communists. The far-rightist parties gave him their support in the election only to create a solid anti-Communist front. They would throw him over at any time if he no longer served their interests.

The Italian people are now anxious to know how the Popular Front will take its defeat. The Communists have had no reason to lose confidence, since they polled more votes than in 1946. The real loser has been Nenni's Italian Socialist Party, which will probably see its strength in Parliament cut more than half. To a certain extent the Socialist Party was the victim of a propaganda campaign of unconvincing slogans which were contrary to the opinions privately expressed by high party representatives. If they had accepted the Marshall Plan in principle while expressing their doubts about certain points, they would have cut the ground from under De Gasperi's claim that only his party and those collaborating with him were interested in helping the Italian economy. This was the main mistake, but there were others.



Enrico de Nicola

The chance of an early reunion of Socialist forces is very slim. Their differences not only include relations with the Communists and interpretations of Socialist dogma but extend to foreign policy as well. The independent groups, headed by Saragat and Lombardo, are already said to be at odds. The Nenni Socialists seem to be more favorable to a reconciliation with the others, but no decision will be reached until the party congress is held toward the end of June.

Among the smaller parties only the Socialist Union made important gains. This movement recently constituted by Saragat and I. M. Lombardo—the latter was head of the Italian economic mission to the United States—has attracted many intellectuals and middle-class voters. While Saragat's Italian Workers' Socialist Party has been weak from the start, Lombardo has won the recognition of the Socialist bodies of Western Europe. Nevertheless, I have the feeling that the Socialist Union, lacking roots in the working class, is bound to disappear. Its collaboration with De Gasperi has already damaged its prestige on the left.

In a speech before the Rome committee of the Christian Democrats Interior Minister Scelba made remarks that greatly embarrassed his allies of the Third Force. He called the non-clerical democrats, to which both Republicans and moderate Socialists belong, "a bunch of fakers" (*quattro cialtroni*). He also made it clear that the Christian Democrats mean to dominate the economic, industrial, and financial life of the country, and he finally warned the trade unions that they would not be allowed to follow a policy contrary to the government. Next day Saragat's paper, *Umanità*, described Scelba's speech as reflecting the views of Scelba and not of his party. They were soon set right by *Populo*, the Christian Democratic official organ, which declared, "Scelba's speech was based on the principles of a healthy democracy."

ENRICO DE NICOLA was a wonderful first President of the Italian Republic, and perhaps this was the reason De Gasperi decided that he should go. More than once President de Nicola found it necessary to give the Premier a lesson in democracy. One day he happened to be with De Gasperi in the House of Parliament. The Assembly was not in session, and seats were empty. "It looks much nicer this way," commented De Gasperi. The President looked at him icily and replied, "Mr. Premier, you are being blasphemous."

De Nicola is a Neapolitan lawyer and former monarchist. He accepted the presidency reluctantly in the turbulent period after the general elections of June, 1946. He hates publicity and always remained inconspicuously behind the political scene, but more than once he employed his authority to smooth differences and avoid irreparable clashes. He did a great deal to make the republic more popular in the traditionally monarchist south. De Nicola belongs to the old school of political conservatism which in Naples is shaded with anti-clericalism, and this was another quality that De Gasperi could not stand.

The Premier first thought Count Sforza was the man he needed, but many influential members of the Christian Democracy disagreed. The party's secretary general, Piccioni, then went to see Saragat's Socialists and promised them a better representation in the government if they would withdraw their support from Sforza. Having induced them to do so, the Christian Democrats named Vice-Premier Luigi Einaudi.

The new President, a Piedmontese and an economist of note, is also a conservative; having no anti-clerical record he is agreeable to the Premier. Einaudi has kept aloof from everyday politics, and even though the left voted against him, it greeted him in friendly fashion after his election. Italians in general feel that Einaudi will discharge his office honorably.

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British Labor Takes Stock

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

Scarborough, May 21

VETERAN political correspondents have been complaining that the forty-seventh annual conference of the Labor Party has been as dull as the skies above it have been brilliant. In a sense they are right: there have been no fireworks, revolts, sensational incidents—nothing to make good headlines. This is disappointing to the many Fleet Street pundits who, on the basis of recent rowing within the party, prophesied that Scarborough would see the beginnings of serious schisms in Labor's ranks.

But if the conference has been quiet, it has not been without interest. An American newspaperwoman here, getting her first close-up of British labor, told me she was enormously impressed with both the brisk efficiency and the democratic atmosphere of the conference. She realized the power of the well-oiled party machine, which imposed its will on all important issues, but at the same time she appreciated the opportunity given to minorities to express their opinions. The high level of the debate, with one rank-and-file delegate after another mounting the rostrum and making his points clearly, cogently, and concisely, also astonished her. Having been closely in touch with British labor for over a quarter of a century, I was less surprised; I know the thorough training that the average delegate receives in ward and trade-union meetings, on committees, and on local public bodies.

One reason for the disinclination of the conference to carry controversy to an acute stage was the deep sense of the delegates that this is a time for unity. Although the next general election is almost certainly at least two years away, it is in everyone's mind. When it comes, it will be a stern battle, for the Tories are clearly going to make a desperate effort to throw Labor out. They have already raised a $5,000,000 fighting fund which they are spending freely on publicity, including a nation-wide billboard campaign. With Lord Woolton, department-store magnate and food minister during a large part of the war, as chairman of their organization, they have rebuilt their machine and for the first time are emulating labor by preaching their gospel at street corners and on doorsteps.

Labor strategists expect to lose some seats, particularly in the suburban middle-class districts where they scored so heavily in 1945, but they believe they can come back for another term of office with a good working majority. Of course, much depends on the course of events. If the economic crisis deepens, if it becomes necessary to reduce rations or to cut imports of raw materials to an extent that would cause unemployment, or if serious difficulties develop in the newly nationalized industries, a combination of apathy on the part of the workers and a swing to the right by the so-called floating vote might lead to a Labor defeat. However, there is good reason to hope that the improvement in the economic situation, discernible since the firm hand of Sir Stafford Cripps took the helm, will continue, and that by 1950, while there will still be need for austerity, some raising of the general standard of living will be possible.

It is therefore of vital importance to maintain the present upswing in national production. As a report presented by the National Executive to the conference pointed out, a steadily increasing output of goods is essential to secure (1) a volume of exports sufficient to pay for needed imports; (2) the maintenance of full employment, which would be threatened if imports of raw materials were curtailed; (3) underpinning for the new social services, which must be paid for in real income as well as money income; (4) a reduction in prices needed to check inflationary tendencies. Introducing this report, Herbert Morrison, deputy Prime Minister and chief party manager, said: "Vast checks have been drawn on our future national resources in the confidence that the inspiration and incentive of this advance will lead to the increase in national production which is essential if the checks are to be met. . . . Do not let us think that we can meet this bill as a whole simply by squeezing the capitalists further. . . . We must really get down more vigorously to the problem of production. We are not content to go on just measuring out fair shares of scarcity."

There was little inclination in the conference to dispute this point of view, though in the debate that followed Mr. Morrison's statement a good many different opinions were expressed about the best way to increase production. Several delegates spoke candidly of the need for greater discipline among workers; others suggested that one way to improve labor morale would be to give workers both in public and private industry a better chance to participate in management. A number of speakers called for an improvement in managerial technique. There was a terrific disparity between the most efficient and least efficient plants in the same industry, said Barbara Castle, a young Member of Parliament. A shop steward from Birmingham agreed: more red tape and waste motion were to be found in private industry, he complained, than in the civil service, and far too many "spivs"—non-productive workers—were clinging to the backs of the productive workers.

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BUT should this concentration on the problems of production mean a slowing down of socialization, or is it a reason for speeding up the process? This is a question likely to be debated at length inside the party during the coming year, for at the next conference it will be necessary to adopt a program for the next election. Mr. Morrison is one of those who believe that an application of the brakes is desirable. Twice during the conference he suggested that it would be unwise to list another series of industries for nationalization. The reasons he gave were practical: new social institutions, like new machines, could not be perfected overnight; a shake-down period during which adjustments could be made was necessary. Already it is obvious that there are structural flaws in some of the nationalized industries and that during the next few years alterations and repairs will have to be made. In the case of coal, for instance, more local autonomy for the regional boards would probably increase efficiency.

Acknowledgment that particular schemes of nationalization may need amendment does not mean that the Labor Party has lost faith in the principle of public ownership. In one of the most heartily applauded speeches of the week Aneurin Bevan, Minister of Health, declared that it was the application of Socialist principles to economic problems that had kept Britain from disaster in the past three years: only thus had the coal industry been saved from collapse and started on the path of regeneration. As for the steel industry, which has been making new production records and is often quoted as a shining example of the merits of private enterprise, Mr. Bevan said: "Never was there a better example of the virtues of socialism. Workers in the industry are producing steel in the hope of socialism and employers in the fear of it."

Bevan's aggressive line was reinforced by a strong hint from Dr. Hugh Dalton that industries which failed to cooperate with the government might find themselves on the next nationalization list. The contrast between these two utterances and Morrison's soothing plea for caution and consolidation was too obvious to be missed. Clearly two schools of thought exist in both the government and the party executive about the shape of the next five-year plan. Dalton, temporarily outside the government, together with Bevan, Strachey, and some of the younger ministers, is likely to press for a continued offensive against capitalism, while Prime Minister Attlee, Morrison, and many of the trade-union leaders will advocate fortifying positions already gained. On the newly elected National Executive Committee the second group undoubtedly has a majority, but the first has more support among the rank and file of the party, which normally tends to take a position somewhat to the left of the leadership.

Greater concentration on domestic policy during the coming year will be encouraged by the rout of the critics of the government's foreign policy. Once more Ernest Bevin has demonstrated the massive hold he has on the minds of his fellow-trade-unionists, but his triumph would have been less complete without the unwitting aid of Moscow. Under the impact of last year's events, particularly in Czechoslovakia, the "Keep Left" group has disintegrated, and support for the band of fellow-travelers led by Konni Zilliacus has visibly wilted. Zilliacus got a good hearing—he is personally popular—but his foreign-policy resolution was overwhelmingly defeated, and in the election for the National Executive he was well down on the list of defeated candidates, scoring far fewer votes than in 1947.

DIVING LESSON AT SCARBOROUGH

London *Express*—Canada Wide

Some American liberals, those who tend to judge the British Labor government solely in terms of foreign policy, may be so disgusted by this new proof of Bevin's ascendancy that they will be tempted to write off that government as a hopeless failure. In their preoccupation with the results of "continuity" with Toryism in Palestine and other fields, they overlook Labor's actual accomplishments in the liquida-

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tion of imperialism. And they give only scant attention to the slow but definite progress being made in this country toward the goal of an efficient social *democracy*.

Developments on the domestic front lack drama, but they nevertheless represent a bold and significant experiment. Wall Street and the Kremlin agree that it is an experiment which must fail; the one insists that socialism leads inevitably to dictatorship, the other that socialism can only be achieved by revolutionary techniques. The British Labor movement is determined to prove that both these dogmas are wrong. With so much at stake, the Labor Party at Scarborough refused to allow differences to divide it and deliberately closed its ranks. Even though this involved an indorsement of Bevinism, we should, I think, applaud, for the splintering of British Labor would be a tragedy for workers everywhere.

What Went Wrong at Bogotá?

BY SAMUEL GUY INMAN

DEMOCRACY took a sound beating at Bogotá. The destructive violence, allegedly Communist-inspired, which flared during an entire week of the month-long Pan-American Conference obscured graver questions about the results of the conference itself.

As an observer at Bogotá I felt that certain issues raised there were of more fundamental concern to lovers of democracy than the riots, bad as they were. The Bogotá meeting, for one thing, showed that pan-Americanism is at a low ebb. Delegations from the United States and several other American republics were the least impressive of any attending recent conferences. Few of the speeches could have stirred up a passion for democracy.

Worse than that, the conference as a rally for democracy against communism was fatally handicapped in the opening days, when its officers were selected. One of the most reactionary politicians in America, a former friend of Hitler, enemy of pan-Americanism and of the United States, twice decorated by Franco, was elected president —the Colombian most detested by his fellow-citizens, Dr. Lauriano Gómez. The reason? His minority Conservative government nominated him and no one present had the nerve to say no. Chosen for vice-president was a representative of Honduras, which is ruled by General Carias with the support of the United Fruit Company of Boston. The president of the Commission to Consider Human Rights was a delegate from the Dominican Republic, where the distinguished representative of democracy, General Trujillo, is considered "'next to God," as an electric sign in his home city announces. The Venezuelan delegate objected in the name of democracy to that nomination but was voted down.

DR. SAMUEL GUY INMAN, a veteran of many inter-American gatherings, is an authority on Latin American affairs and their relation to the United States. He was secretary to the Committee on Cooperation in Latin America for twenty-six years, attended numerous pan-American conferences as a correspondent, and in 1936 was adviser to the United States delegation at the Buenos Aires conference. He has lectured extensively in the United States and at Central and South American universities and this summer will give a course on Latin American law at Vanderbilt University.

WHEN Secretary of State Marshall and his ninety assistants packed their bags on March 28 and flew to the Ninth International Conference of American States, they brought along the Pan-American Union Handbook, which listed the subjects on the conference agenda. Reduced from three pages of detail, these were four in number: (1) reorganization of the pan-American system; (2) economic cooperation; (3) juridical subjects, including defense of democracy in America, European colonies in America, recognition of de facto (revolutionary) governments, a declaration on human rights; and (4) improvement of inter-American social service.

Offices were set up on several floors of a downtown building. General Marshall, Assistant Secretary Norman Armour, and the chiefs of Latin American delegations were housed in the private homes of rich Bogotá citizens in the suburbs. This arrangement made difficult the intimate personal contacts so important in overcoming official differences. It was of advantage to the guests, however, when the rioting broke out.

The cordial relations that Cordell Hull and Sumner Welles had established at former conferences by calling personally on other delegates were notably absent at Bogotá. Secretary Marshall had noon-time talks with other delegates in his office, and former Secretary of Commerce Harriman, who was seldom seen at the conference, held a series of luncheon meetings to discuss economic questions. This procedure, however, did not imply any "high-hat" attitude on the part of the United States representatives.

General Marshall commanded the respect of the delegations, and the Colombians appeared to admire his military bearing, brevity, and rather brutal frankness. I myself not only came to admire the tough fiber of his character, his absolute honesty, and his frank disgust with

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hours of search for a "juridical phrase"; I also acquired a real affection for this soldier-diplomat. He even has a sense of humor, I found. One morning, after he had sat in his chair an hour after meeting time, I asked him if there was any way I could serve him. "Yes," he replied, "get this damn meeting started!"

Yet the personal popularity of the chief of the United States delegation hardly offset the impression that he was not too much at home in a diplomatic atmosphere and that he and his colleagues lacked a positive program. Conspicuously absent were representatives of important American groups. The weight of economic and military interests was felt in the leading figures present—the Secretaries of State, Commerce, and the Treasury; the president of the Export-Import Bank, William Martin; General Marshall S. Carter; and Lieutenant General Harmon. Greatly missed were labor leaders, educators, and specialists in the social and humanitarian aspects of life, who contributed so much to our delegations at other conferences.

Only once did a United States delegate offer anything like a warm appeal for friendship, for peace, for democracy. That was when Secretary Marshall in his opening speech referred feelingly and effectively to the fact that one of our own generals, who gave his life at Okinawa for the freedom of both American continents, was Simon Bolivar Buckner, named after the great Bolívar whose picture faced the delegates in the meeting-hall. One Latin American, referring to our coldness, even in advocating democracy, said, *"Falta el espíritu santo"*—the holy spirit is lacking.

EVERYONE expected that economic cooperation and the reorganization of the Pan-American Union would be the major accomplishments of the conference. At the Rio conference last September, when Latin Americans pushed for consideration of economic problems, Secretary Marshall had asked that business there be limited to the defense of the Americas and promised that the economic situation would be thoroughly covered at Bogotá. Yet in his open address at Bogotá he declared:

> We must face facts. . . . My people find themselves faced with the urgent necessity of meeting staggering responsibilities in Western Europe, in Germany and Austria, in Greece and Turkey, in the Middle East, in China, Japan, and Korea. . . . It is beyond the capacity of the United States government itself to finance more than a small portion of the vast development needed. The capital required through the years must come from private sources, both domestic and foreign.

This disheartening introduction and the tenor of subsequent speeches by Secretary Harriman and Ambassador Pauley seemed to Latin Americans a return to the pre-good-neighbor policy—a withdrawal of the inter-American governmental cooperation promised at Chapultepec in favor of private American investments, and an extension to Latin America of this country's doctrine of "rugged individualism" as against social legislation.

When the United States, a week after Secretary Marshall made his statement, attempted to recapture favor by giving out President Truman's message to Congress asking it to authorize loans of $500,000,000 for Latin America, it suffered, according to the United Press, "one of the coldest and most unanimous rebuffs in the history of pan-Americanism." This would not have happened if the subject had been presented in large terms, as a proposal for reorganizing the inter-continental economy and coordinating it with the new Inter-American Economic Commission of the United Nations. Details of loans and the safeguarding of United States property against confiscation could have been worked out later.

The day after this setback to the economic diplomacy of the United States, as though to demonstrate the urgent need of relieving Latin American poverty and suffering, the mob broke loose. Some 1,500 people were killed during the following week, and property losses amounted to 500,000,000 pesos.

MONTHS before the conference the Conservative government had instituted a reign of terror in several parts of Colombia. Hundreds of Liberals had been killed and all kinds of indignities heaped upon others. A week before the conference opened a mob of Liberals had gathered in protest before the Capitolio and been dispersed with tear gas. Then the idol of the common people and the chief of the Liberal Party, Dr. Eliécer Gaitán, was assassinated at high noon on a crowded downtown street, and the rioting was not stopped for another week.

Swept along by the excited crowds, I watched them at first rush aimlessly about the streets, then stiffen, evidently under new direction, break through the guards at the Capitolio, and destroy the meeting rooms of the conference. Next they poured along Seventh Avenue to President Ospina's residence—he himself had just escaped—and deposited on his doorstep the naked, mutilated body of Gaitán's assassin. Two days later, with the protection of guards, I decided to try to reach the Capitolio, two blocks from the Hotel Astor, where I was besieged with the American correspondents. Halfway down the first block bullets began to spit around us. Dropping on our bellies, we crawled from door to door. We entered the Capitolio by a rear door, and I studied the destruction, wondering how soon the conference could resume its sessions.

On returning to the Astor I found that fellow-correspondents had persuaded a friendly lieutenant to take us in an armored car some seven miles out into the suburbs to interview General Marshall, from whom we had had no word since the fighting began. The Secretary had escaped

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the harrowing experiences of those caught in the heart of the city and was ready for a talk. He told us how he had got in touch with United States military forces in the Canal Zone and had arranged for planes to bring food and, if need be, to evacuate the American delegation. He said he was in favor of continuing the conference and was recommending this to other delegations.

But when the conference met again, the life seemed to have gone out of it. It was hard to deliberate in an atmosphere of extreme tension, under the protection of soldiers. With space restricted because of damage, subcommittee meetings were largely dispensed with and the discussions took place in the main body, the Steering Committee.

The first imperative task was to work out the reorganization of the inter-American system determined on at Chapultepec and only partly completed. After three days of warm debate, when the proceedings were threatening to bog down, delegates awoke to the dangers of a stalemate and settled down to vigorous work. Under the rather pedestrian title "The Organization of the American States," the haphazard developments of half a century of pan-Americanism were brought together in a definite, logical charter of 112 brief articles.

Unfortunately, the general declaration on human rights accepted by the conference did not find a place in the charter, nor was it put into a treaty. The appointment of an Advisory Military Defense Council was included, however. The old method of representation in the Pan-American Union, by diplomats accredited to Washington, was again approved, with the blessing of our State Department. But a promised discussion of social and cultural problems did not materialize.

DURING the week that the delegates were gathering in Bogotá there was much discussion of whether the conference should issue an anti-Communist pronouncement. The leading advocate of such a declaration was the friend of Franco, Lauriano Gómez, who was echoed by the delegates from all the dictatorship countries—Paraguay, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and Honduras—along with those from Chile and Brazil. The chief Argentine delegate, Bramuglia, expressed the contrary attitude of Panama, Venezuela, Guatemala, Cuba, and others when he said:

> Communism is not stopped by passing resolutions, but by improving the living conditions of our people who have been exploited by privileged classes. . . . The difficulty about a resolution calling on all our republics to expel communism from the continent is that reactionary governments among us are likely to use that simply as an excuse to destroy their enemies—the old custom of calling your opponents Communists.

Secretary Marshall was the first to mention communism in the conference, when he inquired in the opening session if the agenda allowed the discussion of the subject. He was answered that such discussion would come under the topic "Defense and Preservation of Democracy in America Confronting the Installation of Anti-Democratic Regimes in the Continent." As a matter of fact, this topic was a holdover from the Mexican conference of 1945 and was *aimed at native American dictatorial regimes,* such as the Ubico dictatorship, then trying to restore itself in Guatemala. "Considering that it is impossible to hope for a sincere cooperation from such anti-democratic regimes either in war or in peace," the resolution read, "and since they constitute a serious danger to the unity and defense of the continent, resolved, that the American Republics refuse to recognize them."

Instead of refusing to recognize them at Bogotá, the conference at the outset placed itself under their leadership. From that moment the Ninth Pan-American Conference, as a group of American democracies meeting to fight for the rights of man, was a failure. The Bogotá mobs ten days later only underscored the fact.

Not until the riots had enforced a long intermission was the subject faced openly. The United States, Brazil, Chile, and Peru then submitted a resolution calling for the condemnation of communism. During the ensuing debate a general demand arose to condemn the extreme right as well as the extreme left. Panama said ideas should be met with ideas. Uruguay declared that political positions should be positive not negative. Argentina said that action was better than words. Colombian Liberals, now in charge of their delegation, declared their opposition to all methods that set aside the constitution. The United States, depending as usual on work in quiet subcommittees, said nothing, which left the public suspicious.

The resolution was changed from a simple condemnation of communism to one condemning "international communism or any totalitarianism which is incompatible . . . with the dignity of man and the sovereignty of a nation."

When the time came for final discussion of the resolution, opinion was overwhelming that the assassination of Gaitán and the resultant riots were caused not by outside forces but by local political abuses, and that the local Communists, who had cast only 400 votes in recent Bogotá elections, had simply seized the occasion and given the mob skilled direction.

No doubt Bogotá marked an important skirmish in the long battle between democracy and communism. Why, then, did democracy suffer a crushing defeat? It seems to me that it was because we used precisely the tactics that play into the enemy's hand: team up with the extreme right, condone dictators, ignore injustice and poverty; and then, when the people rise in anger and destroy their oppressors, pass resolutions blaming all on the extreme left.

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World Government—Progress Report

BY GEORGE A. BERNSTEIN

I

ON TUESDAY, May 4, the House Foreign Affairs Committee opened hearings on a group of resolutions dealing with the structure of the United Nations. Among the proposals are H. C. R. 59, which calls for a general conference of the U. N.—under Article 109 of its charter—for the purpose of strengthening the organization so that it may enact, interpret, and enforce world law; and H. C. R. 163, which provides for the elimination of the veto in matters of aggression, control of atomic energy, and the setting up of a world police force.

Congressional interest in world government did not "just happen." Popular pressure is forcing Congress to take account of the impotence of the U. N. as it is now constituted. But popular pressure itself does not just happen. It must be marshaled and channeled to be effective. No fewer than five major organizations now working to improve the U. N. or transform it into some form of world government are giving direction to the growing fears of the American people. In the past few months these groups have enormously accelerated their activities, enlisting thousands of new members and obtaining hundreds of thousands of signatures to petitions urging Congress to strengthen the machinery for preserving the peace. The resolutions now under Congressional consideration were introduced, against the wishes of many legislators and State Department officials, as the result of hard-headed, down-to-earth political tactics by organizations concerned with preserving peace through world law.

Let us take a brief look at what they have been doing:

In April, 1947, largely through the efforts of Norman Cousins, editor of the *Saturday Review of Literature* and one of the national vice-presidents of United World Federalists, a "World Law Week" was proclaimed in the town of Norwalk, Connecticut. In the course of the week 17,000 citizens—more than half the town's population—signed a petition addressed to the President and Congress demanding the strengthening of the U. N. Several months later similar petitions were circulated in Pelham and Scarsdale, suburban communities in Westchester County, New York, and were signed by more than two-thirds of the adult population. A petition calling upon the President and Congress to take immediate steps to form some sort of world government as the only alternative to atomic war was circulated last January in Cleveland by a group called Workers for World Security. More than 200,000 Cleveland citizens signed.

Since 1941 sixteen state legislatures have passed a resolution along the lines suggested in 1940 by Robert Lee Humber of the United World Federalists. In nineteen other states the resolution has been adopted by at least one house of the legislature. Humber, a North Carolina attorney, acting as a one-man lobby for world government has urged state legislators from one end of the country to the other to approve "the principle of world federation" and request the President "to initiate the procedure necessary to formulate a constitution for the Federation of the World, which shall be submitted to each nation for its ratification." At the present time California is planning to vote on such a resolution; last February Virginia, which had adopted Humber's proposal in March, 1944, took an even stronger stand by calling for a general conference of the U. N. for the purpose of forming a federated world government.

Perhaps the most significant action taken by any state was that of Massachusetts. On Election Day in 1946 the ballot included the following question, to be decided by a state-wide referendum: "Shall the Senator in the General Court from this district be instructed to vote to request the President and the Congress of the United States to direct our delegation to the United Nations to propose or support amendments to the Charter which will strengthen the United Nations and make it a *world federation* able to prevent war?" Seventy-two per cent of the voters answered this question, 638,000 in the affirmative and only 74,000 in the negative—a majority of nine to one! (The growth of interest in world government, by the way, is shown by the fact that those who answered yes to a similar question on the Massachusetts ballot in 1942 were in a majority of only three to one.) Spurred by this mandate, the Massachusetts legislature, in the most specific resolution yet adopted by any state, requested the President to "direct our delegates to the United Nations to propose or support amendments to the Charter which will strengthen the United Nations and make it a limited *world federal government* able to prevent war." The resolution then asked that limited but adequate legislative, executive, and judicial powers be granted the world government to enable it to maintain

GEORGE A. BERNSTEIN is political-education director of the Millinery Workers' Union, and an active member of the A. V. C. The second part of his article, to appear next week, will deal with world-government organizations other than United World Federalists and with the movement abroad.

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inspection, police, and military forces and exact dependable revenues. It provided for a balanced representation in a World General Assembly based on a formula recognizing "influence in the world, natural and industrial resources, literacy, population, and other relevant factors." And it demanded a world bill of rights.

In November similar referendums will appear on the ballots in Connecticut, New Jersey, Oklahoma, and Illinois. An attempt by Republican Assemblyman Orlo M. Brees to put one on the New York ballot was killed by inaction, presumably on the order of the majority caucus.

Thirteen cities in the United States celebrated "World Government Week" during April. The Chicago City Council proclaimed such a week in the face of biting criticism from the *Tribune*. In Philadelphia's Main Line suburbs 6,760 signatures on a petition favoring world government were obtained from 13,250 voters. In Clearwater, Florida, U. W. F. workers approached voters as they stepped up to the ballot box in a local election and obtained petition signatures from two-thirds of them. A World Citizens' Conference has been called for May 21-22 at Woodstock, Illinois. An Institute of World Government under Professor George Saute has been established at Rollins College in Winter Park, Florida, to stimulate academic interest in the U. W. F. program.

Final proof—if proof be needed—of the continuing American interest in world government is to be found in the results of various public-opinion polls held in the past few years. One of the questions asked in the Gallup poll in August, 1946, and again in September, 1947, was whether the U. N. "should be strengthened to make it a world government with power to control the armed forces of all nations, including the United States." In the first poll the answers were: yes, 54 per cent; no, 24 per cent; undecided, 22 per cent. Thirteen months later they were: yes, 56 per cent; no, 30 per cent; undecided, 14 per cent. An additional question in the second poll, "Do you approve or disapprove . . . a world conference . . . to work out plans for making the United Nations stronger?" was answered: approve, 83 per cent; disapprove, 9 per cent; undecided, 8 per cent.

THE fastest-growing and most dynamic of the world-government organizations in this country is United World Federalists. Other groups attempting to modify and strengthen the U. N. are the Citizens' Committee for United Nations Reforms, Federal Union, the American Association for the United Nations, and World Republic.

U. W. F. was founded in Asheville, North Carolina, in February, 1947, during a world-government convention, by the merger of Americans United for World Government; World Federalists, U. S. A.; Student Federalists; Massachusetts Committee for World Federation; and World Citizens of Georgia. Cord Meyer, Jr., a twenty-seven-year-old disabled Marine Corps veteran, author of "Peace or Anarchy," was elected national president.

Since that convention U. W. F. has doubled its membership. In 470 chapters and twenty-two state branches it now has 31,000 members—the number has increased 25 per cent in the past two months alone. Its chapters have been formed roughly on the basis of Congressional Districts (Assembly Districts in New York City). This set-up has been useful in inducing Congressmen to support the resolutions at present receiving public hearings. Congressmen who have not taken the world-government movement seriously are beginning to find active U. W. F. chapters in their own back yards.

A recent campaign by the U. W. F. chapter in New Jersey's Fifth Congressional District is typical. The district is represented by Charles A. Eaton, chairman of the House Foreign Affairs Committee. The local U. W. F. chapter, under the chairmanship of Harry B. Hollins, obtained the signatures of several hundred leading citizens of the district, many of them active Republicans, to a petition asking Eaton to support H. C. R. 59. Although he had not previously committed himself for or against U. N. reform, Eaton quickly wrote Hollins promising to take action. "I will do everything in my power," he said, "to make it possible for the government of the United States to assume leadership, now so entirely lacking, in strengthening the United Nations Organization as the only present instrument we have for the preservation of world peace."

The goal of U. W. F. is formulated in its Statement of Beliefs: "We believe that peace is not merely the absence of war but the presence of justice, of law, of order —in short, of government and the institutions of government; that world peace can be created and maintained only under a world federal government, universal and strong enough to prevent armed conflict between nations, and having direct jurisdiction over the individual in those matters within its authority." U. W. F. does not desire to scrap the U. N. and start all over again. It indorses the U. N.'s efforts "to bring about a world community favorable to peace," and specifically urges that the amendment processes of the U. N. be used to transform it into a federal world government.

Although it is derided by the American Communist Party, U. W. F. clearly recognizes that a world federal state without Russia is no world state at all, and it adopted this resolution at its first General Assembly in November, 1947: "We disassociate ourselves most explicitly from those who would exclude the Soviet Union or who would welcome her unwillingness to join [a world federated government]." While U. W. F. supports H. C. R. 59, it does not favor H. C. R. 163, which might conceivably set up a world organization without the Soviet Union.

The stature of U. W. F. can be measured in some de-

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gree by those who have been attracted into its ranks. In addition to Meyer and Cousins, its officers include Cass Canfield, chairman of Harper and Brothers; Mrs. J. Borden Harriman, former minister to Norway; W. T. Holliday, president of the Standard Oil Company of Ohio; Thomas H. Mahony, chairman of the Catholic Association for International Peace; Edgar Ansel Mowrer, correspondent and columnist; Raymond Swing, radio news analyst; Clifton Fadiman; and Carl and Mark Van Doren. Among its members are Albert Einstein, Serge Koussevitsky, Justice Douglas, William L. Clayton, Albert Guerard, James B. Carey, secretary-treasurer of the C. I. O., and Charles G. Bolté, first chairman of the American Veterans Committee.

The Catholic Church and Democracy

BY PAUL BLANSHARD

II

WHAT will be the ultimate outcome of the conflict between the different conceptions of authority held by the Roman Catholic church and the government of the United States? Can the Roman Catholic church adapt itself to American democracy?

There is no doubt that the Catholic *people* can adapt themselves to American democracy—most of them are good American democrats already. But the adaptation of the Catholic hierarchy will be extremely difficult for three reasons: (1) the autocracy of the popes has been frozen and sanctified by the doctrine of papal infallibility; (2) the papacy is both a church and a state, and its religious role in America cannot be considered apart from its power politics; (3) the internal structure of both Vatican State and Holy See is completely totalitarian.

Neither the Catholic people nor the Catholic clergy of the United States choose their "representatives" at Rome. All choosing is done from above. The whole structure is ruled by an appointed, infallible pope and twelve congregations of cardinals appointed by the pope. Every American priest is chosen by a bishop, and every bishop is chosen by the pope on recommendation of the Congregation of the Consistory in Rome; every bishop must report to Rome personally at least once in five years. There is no world plenary organization of Catholic laymen or any plenary body for American laymen. There has not even been a general council of the Catholic clergy anywhere in the world since the pope was declared infallible in 1870.

The popes, moreover, are so extremely jealous of potential American independence and initiative that they will not appoint a primate for the American church or give any council of American priests any power over any essential matter of doctrine or policy. The National Catholic Welfare Conference, with pretentious headquarters at Washington, is an effective instrument for Catholic activity, but it has no power to set its own course. It is a purely consultative body of bishops, and even its laymen's division is headed by a bishop. Every pope for more than four hundred years has been an Italian, and as the Catholic scholar, Professor D. A. Binchy, has pointed out in his "Church and State in Fascist Italy" (p. 494), "the central administration of the universal church is for all practical purposes confined to members of the Italian clergy."

American bishops are fond of comparing the infallibility of the pope to the power of the United States Supreme Court. We need ultimate tribunals, their argument runs. We have our pope and the United States has its Supreme Court. And they cite the fact that when the doctrine of infallibility was stated by Pius IX in his "Pastor Eternus," it was claimed only that the pope "possessed that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that His church should be endowed in defining doctrine regarding faith and morals." But who defines "faith and morals" in the Catholic system? The pope, of course. Could anyone imagine a professedly infallible Supreme Court with exclusive power to determine its own jurisdiction, to alter the constitution of the country at will, and to appoint its successors indirectly without recourse to the people or their elected representatives?

Even if the religious machinery of the Roman Catholic church can be democratized by some kind of internal revolution, there still remains the question whether its political principles and techniques can ever be reconciled with American democracy. Because it is both a church and a state, with the same absolute monarch in charge of both entities, its religion cannot be separated from its politics. The actual Vatican State of 108 acres in Rome, created by the 1929 Concordat, is relatively unimportant. Its flag, courts, currency, postage stamps, and police force are chiefly significant because they prove that the Roman Curia has no use for democracy. When the Vatican drew

This is the second half of Mr. Blanshard's final article on the Roman Catholic church. The four articles of this series and the three printed in November of last year, together with considerable new material, will be published in book form next fall by the Beacon Press of Boston.

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up its own constitution, the first article declared that "the plenitude of legislative, executive, and judicial power" was vested in the pope. There is no check upon that power.

From the American democratic point of view the most indigestible lump in the Roman stew is its diplomatic corps—forty-one nuncios and other purely political representatives with the rank of ambassador or minister, and nineteen apostolic delegates dressed up as priests but performing much the same function as the nuncios. These diplomats of Rome are operating today in sixty of the world's leading capitals, serving in many of these capitals as deans of the diplomatic corps, outranking the ambassadors of the United States in most instances. Here is an intelligence service which rivals that of the United States government, ready to make treaties with dictators even in the middle of a war against American democracy, ready to manipulate and maneuver for the advantage of the Vatican and claiming the loyalty of faithful followers inside each country.

The funds for this worldwide network of political diplomacy are all controlled by the same absolute autocracy that controls the creation of saints and the administration of Catholic schools. The religious and political reports from bishops and nuncios all go to the same headquarters. When Mary O'Brien of Montana puts a dollar in the collection plate for Peter's Pence, it may go toward the expense of the papal nuncio in Paris, or the political drive for the Christian Democratic Party in Italy, or the cost of medical supplies for Dutch Negro lepers in Paramaribo, or the living expenses of the pope himself. The allotment and the distribution are directed from Rome.

In the long run this politico-religious dualism of the Roman Catholic church, more than any other one thing, is likely to make it irreconcilable with American democracy—even more than the alien control, the segregated schools, the censorship of publications, the exploitation of relics, the fanaticism of celibacy, the resistance to modern hygiene, and the Latin ritual. Perhaps the deepest conviction of American political life is that "politics and religion do not mix." In the Roman hegemony they are continuously and inextricably mixed. And at times they are mixed in such a way as to outrage moral sentiment.

Because the moral standards of the clergy had been corrupted by power politics the American Catholic hierarchy tolerated Jimmy Walker, James M. Curley, and Frank Hague long after they had become an ethical stench in American nostrils. The Vatican welcomed a new Japanese ambassador to Rome a few weeks after Pearl Harbor and continued to do business with him while American Catholic chaplains were blessing American Catholic marines on Okinawa. Such moral ambivalence is not pleasing to most Americans, and if they could clothe Lord Acton's aphorism in modern journalese they might say that absolute power corrupts absolutely even when the game is played with heavenly chips.

MY OWN conviction is that the outcome of the struggle between American democracy and the Catholic hierarchy depends upon the survival and expansion of the public school. Even if the Catholic birth rate should soar in the United States, as it has soared in Quebec under the goading of the priests, and should lift our 17 per cent Catholic bloc to a majority in the population, the Catholic hierarchy could never make the United States into a clerical state unless it could capture the public-school system or regiment a majority of American children in its own parochial schools. There is no doubt that the hierarchy would like to capture our whole public-school system, as it has captured the schools in Catholic countries and in some of our own Eastern cities. Failing in that ambition, it would like to fragmentize our "Godless" culture, under the guise of "Christianizing" it, by establishing strong competing schools of its own in every American community.

But that possibility seems remote for a number of reasons. American Catholics are no longer responding as they once did to the appeals of their priests for separatism and segregation. Attendance at Catholic elementary schools has declined more than 100,000 since 1930, while the Catholic population has been increasing. Catholics are marrying non-Catholics in ever greater numbers despite the frantic appeals of their priests. More than one-third of the Catholics who married in Cincinnati last year married non-Catholics, with benefit of a priest, and countless others married non-Catholics without priestly blessing. Records indicate that the children of mixed marriages drift rapidly to the public schools (*Homiletic and Pastoral Review*, September, 1934).

Catholic young women, reared in the free and hearty atmosphere of modern America, are beginning to regard the whole archaic system of nuns, wimples, and convents as medieval posturing and useless mortification. Thousands of them are volunteering eagerly for social-service work but refusing to become nuns. If their present informal "strike" continues, the Catholic hierarchy may be forced by economic pressure to turn over a large part of its private school system to democratic public control. The Catholic school system, of course, is essentially an enterprise of nuns who work without salaries, and if the supply of nuns should be cut off, the system would rapidly disintegrate. "By no stretch of the imagination," said Father William J. Ferree in the August, 1944, *Bulletin of the National Catholic Education Association*, "could they [Catholic educational and charitable works] ever be supported if their staffs were salaried." The Boston *Pilot* of March 8, 1948, summarized two authoritative studies, by Father Edward Garesché, of the

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recent alarming decline in the number of Catholic nuns, and declared that Catholic sisterhoods need 50 per cent more candidates than they are now receiving just to maintain their institutions at present levels. The shortage has increased 23 per cent since Father Garesché made a similar study "some years ago."

These are some of the facts which make the control of American democracy through a Catholic system of education seem more than ever remote. As the cost of maintaining segregated schools increases and the public-school system is expanded and improved from the kindergarten through the state university, the Catholic system finds itself continually more on the defensive. The invitation to join the American community without reservation becomes more and more appealing to the Catholic people. The final blow was probably given to the hierarchy's educational ambitions on March 7 when the United States Supreme Court in the McCollum case reiterated with new emphasis its declaration that "the First Amendment has erected a wall between church and state which must be kept high and impregnable." The Supreme Court's only Catholic member voted with the eight-to-one majority in spite of the bitter opposition of the hierarchy to that interpretation of our Constitution. I believe that in the expression of that view he represented the ultimate Americanism of the majority of our Catholic people.

Light Ahead in India

BY SHIVA RAO

New Delhi, May 15

INCREDIBLE as it may seem, Indo-Pakistan relations are improving perceptibly, though misunderstandings and disagreements still frequently arise. If one catalogued the points of difference, the list, beginning with Kashmir, would appear pretty formidable.

Both India and Pakistan have rejected the resolution on Kashmir adopted by the Security Council, though neither will refuse to cooperate with the five-member commission of the United Nations when it visits Kashmir. Pakistan's delegate at Lake Success brought more charges against India, including that of genocide, and nothing will shake India's conviction that the Security Council failed to do it justice. Nehru told me last week that from the first step to the last his government had based its policy on Kashmir on unquestionable principles. Kashmir's strategic position is of such vital importance that India, it is widely believed, would have been justified in receiving it into the Indian federation without further ado. Nehru, however, generously agreed to delay any action until normal conditions were restored and a plebiscite could be completed. The significance of that gesture, India complains, was not appreciated at Lake Success. One section of Nehru's party favored withdrawal from the United Nations in protest. Nehru sternly opposed the suggestion as foolish. While India will probably continue as a member, its confidence in the United Nations as an instrument of international justice has been virtually extinguished.

The tribal raiders, for some reason, seem to have become less active. Indian army observers have noticed an appreciable diminution in the number of Pathans entering Kashmir from across Pakistan. With casualties among them heavy and opportunities for loot few, their willingness to stay at home during the summer is understandable. It is a mistake, however, to think that the Pathans are a source of worry and anxiety to India only. They go through hundreds of miles of Pakistan territory to get to Kashmir, and their marauding instincts are not always under control. Cattle and food tend to disappear along their line of march, and women are reluctant to come out from their houses. The question now is whether Pakistan will dare to deny the raiders passage.

JINNAH'S problems have, indeed, become serious. He recently faced two major political crises in two provinces and resolved them by changing Premiers in both. Sind's Premier was dismissed with the threat of an inquiry into alleged corruption. West Punjab's Premier could not be thrown out with such scant courtesy and therefore has been taken into Pakistan's Central Cabinet. These changes, however, cannot solve Pakistan's real problems. The Sind Moslems dislike and distrust the Punjabi Moslems, and the dismissed Premier, whatever his faults, had achieved popularity through his efforts to protect his people from domination by the richer northern province. In Punjab the radically inclined Moslems, like the new Premier, are suspicious of Jinnah's conservative, pro-landlord group. East Pakistan feels neglected and betrayed, though it contains a majority of the population of the new dominion. When Jinnah wants men to fill high posts, he selects either Moslems from India or Britishers, seldom men from Pakistan.

Two India-Pakistan conferences have been held recently, both with promising results. The earlier one, held in Calcutta, dealt with the problem of minorities with particular reference to East Bengal. A number of far-

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reaching decisions were taken, and both governments expressed their determination to carry them out without reservations. The second conference, just concluded at New Delhi, considered the dispute between the two halves of the Punjab over water rights. East Punjab, now a part of the Indian union, would not release water from its rivers into the irrigation canals of West Punjab except under onerous conditions. Nehru insisted on water being released until West Punjab can find an alternative source of supply.

The fact that frequent inter-dominion conferences have become necessary is itself of considerable significance. At this writing an Indian delegation is at Karachi discussing whether India and Pakistan can pursue a common line in coming negotiations with the British Cabinet over the sterling balances which Britain now holds. In the economic life of the two countries one sees so much interdependence that one can hardly visualize the severance of their ties without disaster to both. Almost every day ships from Karachi bring rice to the drought-stricken parts of southern India. Pakistan's wheat crop, which has just been harvested, is far better than in previous years, and there is a large exportable surplus which India badly needs. On the other hand, India can supply Pakistan's essential requirements—cloth, coal, and sugar. And India's textile mills use the long-staple cotton which Pakistan grows in considerable quantity in regions watered by the Indus. It is remarkable that however acute may be the tension on political issues like Kashmir, economic missions discussing rice, cotton, sugar, and cloth have quickly reached agreement.

LOOKING at the situation as a whole, one can see light breaking through the clouds. Something approaching warmth characterized Jinnah's congratulations to Rajagopalachari on his appointment as Governor General succeeding Lord Mountbatten. The economic ties between the two countries are becoming more firmly established. If the future of Kashmir can be satisfactorily settled, one can hope for an era of peace and good-will.

Of course there is still a strong tendency to look backward and to indulge in mutual recriminations. India suspects that Pakistan is indirectly encouraging the reactionary ruler of Hyderabad, the fabulously rich Nizam, to hold out against joining India. Situated in the center of the Indian peninsula, Hyderabad could greatly embarrass India by serving as a hostile base of operations. Nevertheless, in a curious way, Gandhi's death seems to have marked the peak of Hindu-Moslem ill-feeling. The Moslems are beginning to realize that Gandhi's lofty generosity toward them cost him his life at the hands of an embittered Hindu assassin. The Hindus were shocked by a deed which epitomized their resentment against the policy of appeasement they thought Gandhi supported.

Common dangers threatening the stability of both states draw them together. Communist influence is spreading everywhere, though so far India alone has taken repressive action against leaders of the movement. Finally, one must mention Nehru's statesmanship and remarkable capacity for fair dealing toward all minorities. His assurance to Pakistan that he has not the remotest intention of trying to absorb the country into India has meant much to the Moslems.

In the Wind

THE Wind flutters in this week, considerably embarrassed, to amplify its unduly terse item of May 1, to the effect that "Governor Millard Caldwell of Florida was recently awarded $237,000 in a libel suit against *Collier's*. According to the *Magazine Industry Newsletter*, he gave the money to Florida A. and M., a Negro college."

The May 1 issue of the *Crisis*, publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, sheds further light on the nature of the "bequest." It seems that the Governor had sued *Collier's* for censuring his "alleged statements and lack of effective action in the lynching of Jesse James Payne in Madison County two years ago." At the time he initiated suit he announced, for reasons of his own, that any sum awarded to him would be turned over to the state college for Negroes, and he has kept his word. But Harry T. Moore, executive secretary of the State Conference of N. A. A. C. P. Branches, has written the Governor: "We shall not consider this as a gift to the Negroes of Florida. Florida A. and M. is a state-supported institution. . . . Therefore any money that you give will be a contribution to our state government and not a gift to the Negroes of Florida. We wish also to emphasize the fact that such a gift will not soothe the wounded feelings of Florida Negro citizens. We are still disappointed because of your failure to take effective action in the Payne lynching." Period. Unquote. The Wind apologizes to all concerned for blowing hot when it might better have blown cold.

Somewhat north of Florida, but not too far north, another jackpot has been declined, for precisely opposite reasons. The directors of the Loudoun Hospital in Loudoun County, Virginia, have refused a grant of $100,000 in federal aid—which would have subsidized eleven new beds—so that "our hospital should not lose its character as an independent institution, erected and operated by local people." What this means in English is that if federal aid were accepted, the hospital would have to admit Negroes.

And now the Wind has uncovered a new bigotry—anti-Unitarianism. It has come to the Wind's attention that last January a graduate student about to complete his work for a Ph. D. in a Northern university was being considered for a position on the faculty of Baylor University in Waco, Texas. Everything was going along fine until Baylor asked the young man what his religion was and learned that he was a Unitarian. By return mail it informed him that Baylor was very sorry but that it was its policy to engage only Protestants.

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Del Vayo—A Conference on Spain

Paris, May 30

LAST week-end in Paris the Spanish Socialist Party (P. S. O. E.) held its first full conference in many years. Today there are two factions of Spanish Socialists, thanks to Indalecio Prieto, who after having split the emigration wide open could not resist the temptation to create a schism in his own party. The faction to which I belong—for I have been a Socialist since my early student days—considers itself the real Socialist Party of Spain and Prieto's group dissidents; we believe we represent the true Socialist tradition and feelings of the Spanish people. This tradition is republican. Other Socialist parties, notably in Belgium, the Scandinavian countries, and Great Britain, have never made the monarchy a fundamental issue and have governed under a king apparently without prejudice to their program. In Spain, on the contrary, the Socialists have always maintained that the monarchy constituted the main obstacle to their progressive policies. The struggle against the House of Bourbon began in 1917 with a series of revolutionary strikes that continued intermittently until 1931, when Alfonso XIII was finally driven from the throne. Since then the Socialists of our persuasion have never changed their attitude, despite Mr. Bevin's efforts to convince us that a king would be the perfect solution of Spain's troubles.

The first point on the agenda of the conference was internal politics. The delegates voted unanimously to reject any compromise on the issue of the republic. I personally moved the resolution that logically followed: to accept no pact or alliance with the monarchists. In this we differ not only with the Prietists but also with the Communists, who for tactical reasons are appealing to the monarchists to join the fight against Franco.

Our intransigence is based on two considerations. In the first place, Don Juan's followers insist on the restoration of the monarchy as the *pre-condition* of their participation in an anti-Franco front; afterward, they say, the people can choose in "free elections" the form of government they want. We deny that such elections would in any sense be "free," and we have no desire to see Franco replaced by a clerical monarchy. Despite continued aid from Washington and London, Franco's regime will surely collapse one day, but a monarchy "legitimized" by "free" elections would hang on until it was overthrown in another civil war. A plebiscite, as suggested by Prieto, to be held by a caretaker government before the Pretender is set on the throne would prove as cruel a farce as elections under the monarchy: the vote would take place in a Spain poisoned by ten years of fascist propaganda, with the tiniest villages under constant pressure from the priests and officials of the Franco dictatorship. We Socialists want first to have the republic firmly established; later, when a climate of freedom has been restored, it will be time for elections.

In the second place, we reject even the temporary alliance which the Communist Party advocates because we do not consider the monarchists serious allies. They have long been urging Franco to step aside and allow the Pretender formally to occupy the throne, but they will never push their demands to the point of an open fight against the regime. Best proof of this is the fact that after a protracted courtship by Señor Prieto, who has been trying to entice the monarchists into a mixed government in exile to replace the Albornoz regime, they have finally answered no. For these reasons the conference rejected both the Prieto plan and the Communist proposal for a kind of national front including the monarchists.

At the same time the delegates went on record against a policy of anti-communism. It would be preposterous to exclude the Communists from a fight in which they have shed, and are still shedding, their blood; moreover, Prieto's anti-Communist policy, of late adopted by President Martínez Barrio and Premier Albornoz, has not won a single concession from the Western powers. Though there are no Communists in the Albornoz government, Washington and London continue to ignore its existence; nor have they given more than verbal encouragement to the Prieto plan. Since the end of World War II the Anglo-American intelligence services have made occasional overtures to the Spanish republicans with apparently the sole purpose of dividing them in order to maintain the status quo in Spain. The conference therefore voted to urge Martínez Barrio to form immediately a broad coalition government including all groups which have remained loyal to the republic.

The discussion on foreign policy proved most interesting. After a lively debate the delegates finally voted to oppose Spanish participation on either side in the battle of the blocs. They agreed that the immediate problem is the liberation of Spain; therefore the P. S. O. E. cannot afford either to exclude any fighting republicans from the common effort or to complicate the Spanish issue by siding with the West against the East or vice versa. Once Spain is free the people can decide the nation's foreign policy.

In the course of this discussion Dr. Negrín intervened to answer criticisms of his recent articles in the Paris *Herald Tribune* advocating Spain's inclusion in E. R. P. and at the same time *de jure* recognition of the republican government in exile. The majority of the delegates opposed Dr. Negrín's views on the Marshall Plan; he finally declared that although the arguments of his critics had failed to convince him, he would abide by the decision of the conference.

The final session discussed various ways of aiding the resistance movement inside Spain and of intensifying international action against the last remaining fascist state in Europe.

It was a very good meeting, one that is certain to exert influence on coming developments in Spanish republican affairs. Everyone is convinced that if the United States and Russia begin to resolve their differences, things in Spain will move very rapidly.

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BOOKS and the ARTS

The Roosevelt Era: Stimson and Hull

ON ACTIVE SERVICE IN PEACE AND WAR. By Henry L. Stimson and McGeorge Bundy. Harper and Brothers. $5.

THE MEMOIRS OF CORDELL HULL. By Cordell Hull. The Macmillan Company. Two volumes. $10.50.

WITH the publication of the Stimson and Hull volumes and the serialization of Sherwood's Hopkins, we are entering the second stage of the Roosevelt literature of reminiscence. First came the books focused on Roosevelt himself, whether appreciatively (Frances Perkins's "The Roosevelt I Knew" remains far the best) or anecdotally ("White House Physician," "Reilly of the White House," etc.) or vindictively ("Jim Farley's Story"). Now we have the personal memoirs of a more formal historical character. Books in this second stage focus primarily on the official careers of their authors in the Roosevelt administration, offering autobiography, comment, and official papers and running to a good nineteenth-century length. There are 700 pages of Stimson and 1,800 pages of Hull: sheer weight alone would make them formidable historical documents.

Colonel Stimson prepared "On Active Service" in collaboration with McGeorge Bundy of the Society of Fellows at Harvard, an exceedingly able young man who may well have a Stimsonian impact on his own generation. This reviewer is not given to using the word "great" loosely; but I do not see how one can refrain from calling "On Active Service" one of the great American autobiographies. It is curiously reminiscent of "The Education of Henry Adams," in part, doubtless, because of the use of the third person and because of the detached, somewhat self-deprecatory, patrician style. But the resemblance has, I feel, a deeper source. If you can imagine a Henry Adams who had found his opportunities for public service, who felt that his nation and age had made full use of his abilities, for whom life was not frustration but fulfilment—a Henry Adams whose skepticism, in consequence, had turned to wisdom and whose disillusion with American life had become a profound and lucid faith —you can imagine something of the quality of "On Active Service."

Theodore Roosevelt had many defects, but he was a great political educator. He brought back into public life the men whom the Gilded Age had excluded; and he showed that the politics of conservatism could be, not the mere reflex of plutocracy, but a serious philosophy of the national welfare. Stimson learned his political faith from T. R. and developed it in years of public service—as Taft's Secretary of War, in the army during the First World War, as Hoover's Secretary of State, and, of course, as Franklin Roosevelt's Secretary of War during the Second World War. I know of no book which exhibits so clearly and grandly the admirable qualities of the American conservative: his dignity, courage, tolerance, magnanimity, and civic patriotism—qualities which in another field found expression in the Supreme Court decisions of Holmes and Hughes.

The contrast between Stimson and Hull is instructive. Hull's two volumes were written in collaboration with Andrew Berding, a skilled and able newspaperman who seems, like Bundy, to have done an astonishing job of reproducing the quality of the original. Though Hull is younger than Stimson, his memoirs have a much more distinctively Victorian flavor. The style, for example, has a familiar ring to anyone who has read the autobiographies of nineteenth-century politicians, even to the somewhat artificial inclusion at fixed intervals of not very funny back-country anecdotes. But more than that, its intellectual and moral premises have the flavor of another life. This innocence is appropriate when Hull is writing of the nineteenth century. The early chapters on his childhood and youth in Tennessee, for example, have considerable charm. But the twentieth century in the light of these simplicities emerges in a strange, dreamlike form. It gets harder and harder to make out the New Deal or the war when you see them through the apparently straightforward but infinitely self-deceiving principles of nineteenth-century Tennessee.

This constant and doctrinaire invocation of principle is surely an important clue to Hull. For him principles had a permanent and visible existence, as they had for many people in so stable and undoubting a century as the nineteenth. They were embodied for all time in certain words and phrases; and, for Hull, the repetition of these phrases became a form of incantation against all modern evils. Hence the peculiarly abstract quality of his speeches. But verbal principles may or may not reflect deep moral sentiments. Often they did perhaps for Hull; often, too, they served as a means of avoiding problems until he could find an aspect reducible to his set of principles, or of disguising, even from himself, some of his own less creditable impulses. Thus the whole fascist challenge presented itself to him as a problem to be met basically by encouraging disarmament and multilateral trade. Thus, in the service of highest principle, he drew his bead on Raymond Moley and later on Sumner Welles—exercises in feuding actually about as ruthless as the chilling story Hull tells of his father, tracking down and killing after Appomattox the Yankee guerrilla who had shot him during the war. Hull's moral world was bounded, in other words, not by the facts or by original moral convictions but by the copy-book maxims into which he absorbed both the facts and his own emotions.

Stimson hardly ever talks about principle, but his whole attitude suggests a much profounder and more authentic morality. Compare Hull and Stimson on the Spanish civil war. For Hull the significance of that conflict appears to have been exhausted by the rules of nonintervention and of international collaboration. Now it may be that circumstances compel a nation to adopt such a policy as ours during the Spanish civil war; but a man of serious moral feelings might still regret the circum-

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stances or acknowledge a moral issue in the conflict. Sumner Welles, for example, has done both of these things with great courage. But Hull's chief emotion, in retrospect, beyond his passion for principles, is not disgust at the Franco victory but petulance at all those radicals who kept harassing him to lift the embargo. Stimson, on the other hand, demanded that we furnish aid to the Loyalist government; and his emotion in retrospect is only one of deep regret that he did not begin a public campaign to this end much earlier. It is characteristic that Stimson constantly regrets his mistakes; Hull always defends his.

The faith in verbal principle rather than moral reality comes out similarly in Hull's attitude toward domestic policy. He read Jefferson and Gladstone in his youth and memorized a set of political maxims that he apparently believed would apply to all future situations. He started talking about the tariff in 1888 and talked about it, in much the same terms, for the rest of his career. His maiden speech in Congress was characteristically a denunciation of the paternalistic views of Theodore Roosevelt, and he was not any happier about the New Deal.

But Stimson had learned from T. R. that government must be strong in this modern age. The state must not override the essential liberties of the individual; "but to construe this respect for personal freedom into an assertion that all government was evil seemed to him [Stimson] absurd. The power of government must always be superior to the power of private citizens, and in the industrial civilization of the twentieth century it was the duty of the government to provide for the general welfare wherever no private agency could do the job."

In Hull the flow of Jefferson's libertarianism was reduced to a thin trickle of free trade and anti-statism, ridiculously inadequate to the requirements of the twentieth century. Though Stimson himself disapproved deeply of many aspects of the New Deal, his Hamiltonian belief that government was "not a mere organized police force, a sort of necessary evil, but rather an affirmative agency of national progress and social betterment" had a complete relevance to the problems of the new age.

Both these works represent solid contributions to history. Both are faithful expressions of the authors. Both condense great passages in American history and American life. And Stimson's "On Active Service" will surely go down as a great American document—an expression of the best and finest in the American conservative tradition and a reminder that this tradition may still play a valuable role in our national life.

ARTHUR SCHLESINGER, JR.

"Midway the Journey . . ."

THE JOURNALS OF ANDRE GIDE. Volume II (1914-1927). Translated and Annotated by Justin O'Brien. Alfred A. Knopf. $6.

THE reader who advances into the second section of Gide's "Journals" can be sure of a very nearly complete record of sincerity on all levels. The style takes its tone of truth from the material; the material is clarified by the style. In spite of our romanticisms the classic ring of absolute sincerity in writing is happily recognized by modern ears. The broad, generalized biographical work, as well as the emotional "confession," now leaves us more or less unmoved. We can easily detect that false smoothness and serenity which echos a "maturity" achieved through the repression of a whole side of the personality. We also suspect, as Gide points out, the finicky style, as in Amiel, or the self-satisfied style, as in the Goncourts. Gide's "Journals" are one biographical work of our period where modern "truths" are discovered, and then openly presented in a manner equal to their complex demands.

The second part of the "Journals" also disproves the assertion of Gide's enemies that he is always ready with a specious formula that might at any moment be transposed into its opposite. We see only too clearly in the entries between 1914 and 1917 how Gide, harassed by the paradoxes of his own nature, as well as by the historical situation in which he found himself, and the object of critical attacks from all sides, was often compelled to improvise some way of life, and some means of spiritual survival, from day to day, as best he could. It is one of the "Journals'" virtues that these desperate improvisations have not been deleted from it. Gide often allows himself to sound like a lost soul—or like an ordinary human being whose control is snapping and whose will is petrified.

The search for equilibrium in a highly organized modern man, the theme which runs through the long work as a whole, is particularly apparent in this second section. Gide, at the beginning of the 1914-18 war, was able to envisage his own worth and the moral and aesthetic tasks which lay before him, but only intermittently and in a partial way. He was forty-five, an age when the spiritual nature is impelled toward some comfortable orthodoxy, when the physical being begins to lose energy, and when the creative mind is assailed by fears of depletion and dryness. It is a period, moreover, when manias and compulsions may seize hold of the personality and force its acts into some repetitive pattern. It is an age when one must learn patience, without losing drive. "I cling desperately to this notebook; it is part of my patience; it keeps me from going under" (February, 1916).

The "Journals" at this time of doubt and loss become confused and begin to stammer. Long periods are filled with entries that are empty and dull. Gide finally consents to their mediocrity. He also consents to any diversion which will give him a little peace: piano practice, reading and translating, pets, botany, household tasks and gardening. This is a time of the sharpest analysis of people. Whatever "life offers" must be scrutinized with care; and Bourget, Cocteau, Valéry, Proust, Maritain, alive and in the flesh, are so examined, along with crowds of the non-illustrious. We now recognize in these activities the attempts at "therapy" of a man whose more minatory side has taken the upper hand, and who is convinced that part of his nature is "abominable." Later Gide could write: "Arrogance and boredom are the two most authentic products of hell. I have done everything to defend myself against them and have not always succeeded in keeping them at a distance. They are the two great provinces of romanticism."

Gide finally made two decisions, with what difficulty the contemporary entries show. First, he rejected any sort of orthodox religion, in spite of his belief in God and the proselytizing efforts of his

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converted friends. Second, he decided to put down his "childhood recollections," in the first person singular, with as much frankness as possible. He also decided that the time had come to publish his study of the place and importance of homosexuality ("Corydon") in a signed commercial edition. His dissatisfaction with his work continues (. . . "it all lacks tremor, elasticity, and richness . . ."); but soon the days of real desperation are over, even though the necessity for constant self-discipline continues. "I must go right on even if I have to write in the margin: to be rewritten." By 1917 Gide has made himself capable again of love and joy. The periods "when my mind [is] much concerned with ridiculous anxieties that fatigue and dim it" lessen and then almost totally disappear.

The Gide who in 1921 begins "The Counterfeiters" has come into that state of equipoise where original, because unfrightened, assessments of human nature and morals can be made. "The Counterfeiters," published in 1926, begins where most novels leave off. The conventional theme of adultery becomes only an ironic detail in this survey of the neglected sides of human existence: the tragedy of senility, the sadism of childhood, the latent or real criminality of adolescence, the irresponsibility of the romantic. By 1927 all Gide's secrets were out. The man who had for a long time projected his ideas in the form of parables was now able to step forward with open statements.

This volume ends with Gide convinced, as one of his best critics has said, "that evil is a force which can become a factor of progress"; that "the real value is hardly ever the apparent value"; that "life destroys individuals, but, on the other hand, individuals bungle life." At fifty-eight Gide tells us that self-satisfaction is bad enough but self-satisfaction on the anxiety level is both stupid and a waste of time. There is a world elsewhere. If he has not formulated the approaches to that world in neat metaphysical language—which he abhors—he has allowed us to watch the full spectacle of himself living them through.

A preface to each volume rather than an over-all preface to the three would have helped to clear up certain points obcure to American readers.

LOUISE BOGAN

Limae Labor

POETS AT WORK. Essays by Rudolf Arnheim, W. H. Auden, Karl Shapiro, and Donald A. Stauffer. With an Introduction by Charles D. Abbott. Harcourt, Brace and Company. $2.75.

THE material, all those work-sheets of all those poets, housed in the Lockwood Memorial Library at the University of Buffalo should eventually lead to more interesting books than this inaugural volume. Here there is occasional copy worth noting, once in a while an aperçu, an unguarded side remark, a paragraph now and then; but on the whole no essay seems fully satisfactory.

Mr. Abbott's introduction, for all its aspects of sales talk, is enthusiastic and readable. The scope of the project, limited though it may be by lack of funds and by lack of understanding on the poets' part as to what is requested, limited also at times by their plain churlishness, is pretty inclusive. Mr. Abbott draws the line, not at poetasters, only at vanity-press publications, though he is aware that "A Shropshire Lad" was published first at its author's expense. Perhaps it is just as well that he does not try to be too selective, that he leaves the ultimate work of criticism and the exercise of taste to an agent who need not be on the pay roll, namely, time. It is a good thing he has started, whatever trash it includes, whatever trash it will generate.

Professor Stauffer, of Princeton University, whose essay entitled Genesis, or the Poet as Maker, is the longest in the volume, is all over the place for a while, then settles down to a more or less detailed study of the work-sheets of five poets: Robert Bridges, whose two or three pages he dismisses in one; Genevieve Taggard, the "cool limpidity" of whose The Four Songs engages his attention from pages 63 to 69; Louis MacNeice, for a little over two pages, devoted to a poem called Entirely; Conrad Aiken, a three-page study of one of the Brownstone Eclogues, Sursum Corda; Stephen Spender, seven pages dealing with the poem, well known now, beginning, "I think continually of those who were truly great." It is possible that the work-sheets of these poems were and are the most interesting and study-rewarding in the collection; it is also possible that they give an indi-

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cation of the taste and preferences of Professor Stauffer.

Karl Shapiro goes on at some length with allusions to Jung, Freud, Plato, Nietzsche, and others and a not very conclusive discussion of mantic and demonic and mystic qualities of poetic inspiration before he, like Professor Stauffer, begins to examine work-sheets; he too has seen fit to select poems of Spender's—The Express and The Funeral. It is interesting to compare his judgments of Spender—"in his crowded imagery there is never any sense of confusion," "the perfect solution has been found," "a typically powerful Spenderian beginning," and "the manner of an ancient miracle"—with what he has to say about two other poets, Rilke and Yeats: "both seem to possess everything except the conviction of their own visions, and almost deliberately they give us the impression of make-believe." Mr. Shapiro also studies an unimportant, in Dr. Williams's opinion, little poem by Dr. Williams: he seems to recognize here what the poet is trying to do, and how he does it, but to miss the meaning of the completed work. His other study is given to a passage from Hart Crane, a rather unhappy stretch, as Mr. Shapiro seems willing enough to grant, of rhetoric: emendations, corrections, erasures, revisions, would seem to be of little interest unless the ultimate result were more uniformly an advance than this Cape Hatteras business. Mr. Shapiro's summary has a couple of items worth quoting: "If Wordsworth had read everything Coleridge did and had fallen asleep over Purchas His Pilgrimage, he still would not have awakened to write Kubla Khan." "Genius in art is probably only the intuitive knowledge of form."

The value of Dr. Arnheim's psychological notes on the poetical process had better be left to psychologists: he writes in a kind of language that is most damningly illustrated in what he says of a Keats revision of the ninth line of Hyperion, where the poet made the change from "Robs not at all the dandelion s fleece" to "Robs not one light seed from the feather'd grass." On which our sage, so help me, comments: "The precision of the botanist suggested by practical language is given up in favor of a description which omits the identification of the plant but *specifies the expressive perceptual features of weight and movement*" (my italics; my God!).

It is curious to notice that the various students of the various work-sheets have made almost no references to changes made by the poets for the sake of an improvement in the sound of the line; almost all the revisions noted appear to be seen as improvements in diction or image.

Finally we come to Mr. Auden, who is getting to be so ubiquitous these days that we find him in almost every book we pick up, a compliment perhaps to our taste. Mr. Auden begs off entirely from studying any work-sheets; instead, he offers us, in a series of short paragraphs called Squares and Oblongs, succinct observations on the poet's art and nature in general, with occasional references to theology, the *acte gratuite*, politics, the Fall and the Incarnation, and other matters. Some of these remarks are a bit wisecracking, in the manner of epigrams in the old *Smart Set;* some are simply wise, and all are much more readable than anything after the introduction. What he has to say is not particularly relevant to this particular book, but a good deal of it is relevant to almost anything: why quarrel with finding it here? "The most significant fact about the Buffalo collection of manuscripts is that it exists, because one cannot imagine the idea occurring to anyone before the twentieth century." And again, "In our age, if a boy or a girl is untalented, the odds are in favor of their thinking they want to write."

Nevertheless, even in our age, there might be some who have the gift, some to whom the collection at Buffalo may prove instructive, stimulating, valuable; at the very least, they might have the evidence before their eyes that revision is a necessity, that poetry, like any art, takes a lot of work. If they are any good, they will find this out anyway, but while they are going through those particular growing pains, they might derive some comfort and encouragement by contemplating other men's *limae labor*. The Buffalo collection will probably always assay a high percentage of trash; it will attract phonies and dullards; it will afford its curators and patrons many a fine headache; but it will always, D. V., be a good place for some people to go sometimes, and learn something.

ROLFE HUMPHRIES

An International Episode

SUR, 1947. Editor, Victoria Ocampo. Buenos Aires. $3.

THAT indefatigable gatherer of literary pollen, Victoria Ocampo, recently distributed in Argentina a huge new cargo of British treasure. She bound a whole year's paper allowance into a single issue of her magazine *Sur,* covered it with the crossed red and blue of the Union Jack, and filled it with modern British prose and poetry. *Sur, 1947,* appearing in the second year of Argentina's subjection to Juan and Evita Perón, devotes its five hundred pages—even in the United States magazines do not commonly reach that size—to a brilliant display of international cultural cooperation.

The volume constitutes a panorama of modern British writing from George Bernard Shaw to Sidney Keyes who was born in 1922 and died in the war. As such it holds interest for North as well as South Americans. The bulk of the material is of course made up of excerpts and reprints—the prose in direct translation, the poetry in both Spanish and English. At least two items have not been previously printed; a poem by T. E. Lawrence which Miss Ocampo was permitted to photograph from the last page of the manuscript copy of "Seven Pillars of Wisdom," and an illuminating essay by John Hayward on the The Present State of English Letters which was written specially for this collection.

Here are Auden and Spender and Isherwood, George Orwell discussing Rudyard Kipling, Cecil Day Lewis giving a wry answer to the question, Where Are the War Poets?, Louis MacNeice with a Prayer Before Birth, Aldous Huxley dealing with Time and Eternity, Victoria Sackville-West with a hymn to the Greater Cats; here also are the less well-known Roy Fuller, Henry Treece, Alex Comfort, Dylan Thomas. T. S. Eliot chose his essay on What Is a Classic? for inclusion; Cyril Connolly permitted the reprinting of his inquiry among English writers in 1945 as to the most important books printed in England during the war, and the books which they had most enjoyed reading during those desperate days.

In so far as modern British writing is here mirrored, the pro-proletarian obsession and the passion for verbal obscurity,

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which occupied so much attention in the nineteen thirties seem to have given way to an interest in more general human values. Perhaps ideological polemic and subjective gymnastics are luxury goods that do not survive on the brink of annihilation.

Much of the work set forth was done under a Labor government. That it should contain so little evidence of the political philosophy now ruling England, or of the war-time censorship which preceded it, will be one of the features of the collection most puzzling to Argentina's present masters. Miss Ocampo did her pollen gathering under the aegis of a government agency, the British Council, and made her contacts with younger writers through its courtesy. One who had Perón's cast of mind might therefore expect to find the volume full of Labor Party propaganda. On the contrary, politics is the least of its preoccupations, and not by way of protest.

For a reader whose native tongue is English the translated prose is like a series of familiar fields buried under snow—the blanket of Spanish hides old beauties and reveals some that were unsuspected. The poetry, printed in both tongues, arouses that same feeling of frustration which comes with reading certain renderings of Spanish poems into English—the two tongues are so rich and so alien one to the other, the problem of moving thought and feeling across their respective barriers is so important and so difficult.

As an anthology of modern British writing *Sur, 1947,* is distinguished and interesting. That it should have been collected and published by an Argentinian at this time is an earnest of the courage as well as the taste of its devoted editor. MILDRED ADAMS

Inside the Third Reich

THE GOEBBELS DIARIES, 1942-1943. Edited, Translated and with an Introduction by Louis B. Lochner. Doubleday and Company. $4.

THE diaries from which these extracts were selected cover the period from January 21, 1942, to December 9, 1943, with numerous gaps, in particular for the period of the Nazi defeats at El Alamein and Stalingrad. Hugh Gibson, who supplies a publisher's note, says that as they were typed on fine watermarked paper, they were bought as scrap paper after the fall of Berlin, "passed through various hands," and finally were acquired by Frank E. Mason, who presumably turned them over to Doubleday. Mr. Lochner, Associated Press correspondent in Berlin before the war, vouches for their authenticity.

Apparently Goebbels kept a voluminous diary from the time he joined the Nazi movement, or even earlier, until he killed himself and his family after the death or disappearance of Hitler. It is unfortunate that it did not survive him intact, for even these fragments supply much new information on Hitler and the extraordinary collection of scoundrels who rose and fell with the Third Reich.

Far too much of the book, however, is given over to Goebbels's analysis of events outside Germany and the methods he used to exalt German victories and to gloss over German defeats. He was the Nazi propaganda chief, and these rather boring résumés correspond to the daily directives issued by the war-time propaganda services of the United States and Great Britain. Most of his directives made good sense, but they reveal what all students of propaganda already know—that it is easy to write good stuff when your side is winning but hard going when your side is losing. Thus when the Germans were finally chased out of North Africa, Goebbels admits that "we are saying nothing in reply" and that "we stand aloof in hard and stubborn pride and simply take no notice of barking dogs."

The most interesting part of the book, of course, is Goebbels's account of the psychological disintegration of the Nazi High Command under the stress of events. There are extraordinary sketches of Hitler fuming against his recalcitrant marshals, of Göring hiding in the Bavarian Alps—he had an eyrie near Hitler's—to avoid having to face the German public after the failure of the Luftwaffe.

In addition to his propaganda duties Goebbels had direct administrative responsibility for Berlin. His various jobs gave him an opportunity to keep in touch with everything except purely military events, and it is a good thing for the cause of decency that more of his advice was not followed. He was an advocate of total war, and he realized very soon that Germany's resources were not being sufficiently utilized. He thought that Germany ought to appeal to the peasants in the territory conquered from Russia by offering them land, and he saw that Terboven, the Reich Commissioner for Norway, was making a mess of things.

Such examples of Goebbels's penetration could be multiplied indefinitely. In fact, he was insane on only one subject, the Jews—unless one excepts his overwhelming admiration for Hitler and

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himself. Incidentally, although much has been made of the discords among the Nazi big shots, Goebbels's inside account makes tame reading to those who have learned from Cordell Hull and James A. Farley about the fierceness of the corresponding bureaucratic battles in Washington.

Much of the book, it has to be confessed, is tame and worse. I had the feeling that Mr. Lochner, who has produced 547 pages out of what he says was enough to make 7,100, must have omitted some of the best passages. Mr. Lochner apparently believes that the average reader has an insatiable curiosity about the lives and thoughts of foreign correspondents, and manages to find the space for Goebbels's reference to himself. To round it out, it is a pity that Mr. Lochner, who is now campaigning for better treatment of the well-intentioned Germans, did not manage to reprint his famous dispatch, sent after the collapse of France, extolling the feats of the conquering Wehrmacht.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON

The Caribbean Problem

THE UNITED STATES AND THE CARIBBEAN. By Dexter Perkins. Harvard University Press. $3.

THIS excellent study of our policies in the Caribbean, one of the volumes in "The American Foreign Policy Library" prepared under the editorship of Sumner Welles, presents an arresting analysis of those economic, social, and political forces now operating in the independent republics of the Caribbean —Cuba, Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Honduras, El Salvador, and Panama.

It contains chapters covering the background and psychology of the peoples, their economies, their political and social structures, and their relation to the United States. All nine of these countries have agrarian, one-crop economies, although, ironically, as the author points out, they do not enjoy a "monopoly position in their distinctive fields." They are victims of absentee ownership, chronic unemployment, low standards of living, and widespread illiteracy. Though their governments are nominally republican, none is a mature democracy. *El caudillaje* exists in most of them, with the possible exception of Costa Rica.

At all times they are absolutely dependent on foreign markets and foreign price fixing, but nowadays they are especially dependent upon the economy of the United States. We not only take the bulk of their exports but are also their largest foreign investor. Given this relation, it is inevitable that the small countries of the Caribbean should be drawn into the American diplomatic vortex. No one can conceive of Cuba or Panama or Haiti having a foreign policy diametrically opposed to ours. And obviously no realistic observer believes literally that the Good Neighbor policy makes nations in the Caribbean equal in influence, power, or prestige to the United States. Nor can any honest person believe that pressure does not continue to be exerted, discreetly or otherwise, to persuade Caribbean governments to follow certain lines of conduct.

It is Dr. Perkins's belief that an awareness of these problems and a wise and consistent use of our power will do much to resolve them. He himself offers some suggestions in his two terminal chapters. However, one factor which he glosses over in his discussion of irritants is our race prejudice. He also fails to make clear in his discussion of the percentage of Negroes in the area the difference between the Latin American definition, which excludes the mixed bloods, and our own American definition, which takes in everybody of known African ancestry.

All too often his interpretations of controversial issues seem to follow those offered by our State Department. Witness his handling of SHADA in Haiti, for example, and of Mr. Welles's role in ousting Machado in Cuba and later unseating his successor, Ramón Grau San Martín. It is likewise misleading to give the impression that Oswald Durand (1840-1906) of Haiti wrote only in Creole. Nevertheless, the material in this book, while it is already familiar, will repay study in this period of distressing national tensions.

JAMES W. IVY

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Records

B. H. HAGGIN

AS AN example of the kind of music by Stravinsky I have lately come to enjoy, his Octet for wind instruments —recorded by Leonard Bernstein with members of the Boston Symphony for RCA Victor (Set 1197, $7.25)— turned out to be uninteresting except in the finale. With it in the set is "L'Histoire du soldat," which I had not liked on previous occasions; but this time I was amused by the Soldier's March, the Royal March, and a little of the Ragtime (there is too much of it). The playing is very fine, but without the hard, dry clarity of Stravinsky's own performances of his works.

On a Columbia single (72495-D, $1.25) is his Pastorale for violin and wind quartet, a late reworking of an early song, in which an over-sweet pastoral melody is heard over an acrid accompaniment. Not of much consequence, but well played by Szigeti and the group of winds conducted by Stravinsky; and I care even less for the Russian Maiden's Song played by Szigeti and Stravinsky (piano) on the reverse side. The recorded sound of the violin is sharp and wiry.

Another Victor set (1208, $6) offers Handel's "Walter Music" Suite and his Concerto Grosso Opus 6 No. 10, performed by Defauw with the Chicago Symphony with a stolidity which makes the music impossible to listen to.

Similar performances are to be heard in the Technichord set (T-11, $5.90) of keyboard pieces and motets by William Byrd, played on the harpsichord by Putnam Aldrich and sung by the Harvard Glee Club and Radcliffe Choral Society under the direction of G. Wallace Woodworth; and so I don't know whether it is the music that is dull or the performances that make it seem so.

On the other hand, in the case of the Concord set ($5) of Preludes and Fugues Nos. 6 to 9 from Bach's "Well-Tempered Clavier" (Concord issued the earlier numbers last fall) even Dorothy

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Lane's fine performances on the harpsichord create no doubt in my mind about the Prelude of No. 8 being a great piece of music and the others being, for me, uninteresting exercises in prelude-and-fugal craftsmanship.

And Carl Weinrich's simple performances create no doubt about even the best of the organ music of Buxtehude in the reissued Musicraft set (40, $5.10)—the Magnificat primi toni, the Prelude and Fugue in E minor—not having anything like the expressive force and sustained constructive power of the best of Bach's, or about the feebleness of the rest—the Toccata in F, the Chorale-Prelude *Ich ruf'zu dir, Herr Jesu Christ*—which makes it absurd to talk of Buxtehude as "a composer whose greatness, though different, is in many ways equal to that of Bach." The performances are reproduced with clarity, but in acoustic deadness.

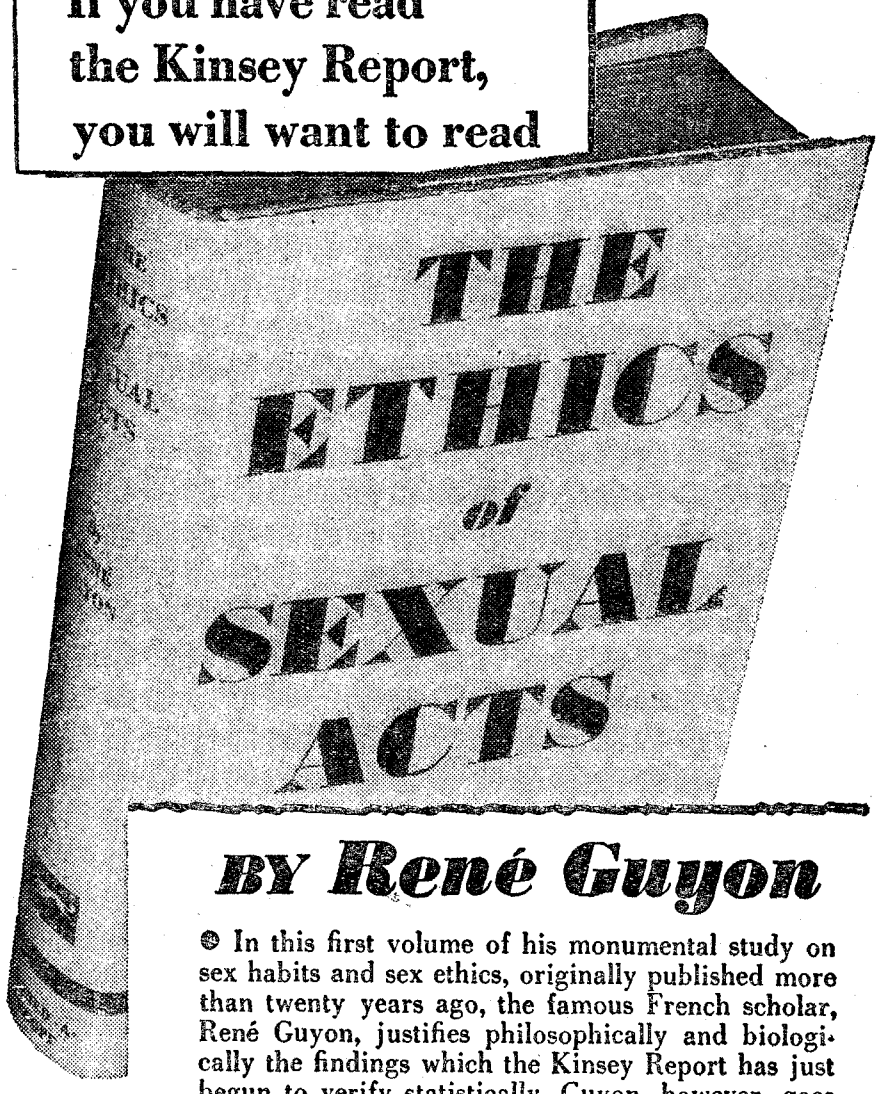
Columbia, which once had the only good performance of Schumann's beautiful Piano Concerto—the one by Yves Nat—in its catalogue, has issued a performance by Serkin with the Philadelphia Orchestra under Ormandy (Set 734, $6 for shellac, $9 for vinylite). Serkin's playing is tensely hard-driving and overblown in the first movement, quieter and better in the others; but I would prefer Rubinstein's performance. The recorded sound of the piano is good; that of the orchestra is veiled; balance is fair, but the orchestra blankets the piano in the second movement.

Columbia also has issued Schumann's "Scenes from Childhood," played by Maryla Jonas (Set X-290, $3.50). Rehearing the pieces after a long interval, I was surprised at how fine some of them are; and Miss Jonas surprised me by playing simply and well much of the time. But not all the time. The recorded sound of the piano is good.

And another Columbia set (748, $7.25) offers Strauss's "Ein Heldenleben," which has some of his best writing, along with his worst, excellently performed by Reiner with the Pittsburgh Symphony, and very well recorded.

From Vox there is Ernst Toch's "Spitzweg Serenade," a small-scale work that is skilfully wrought and pleasant to listen to, beautifully played by Louis Kaufman and Grischa Monasevitch, violins, and Ray Menhennick, viola, and well recorded (Set 177, $2.89).

If you have read the Kinsey Report, you will want to read



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Letters to the Editors

The Sitdown on T.-E.-W.

THREE weeks ago *The Nation* sent an advance copy of its special issue, Housing for America, to every Senator and Representative. At the same time we urged each Representative to sign House Discharge Petition Number 6, the petition which would discharge Representative Jesse P. Wolcott's Banking and Currency Committee from consideration of the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill. The bill has been passed by the Senate but tied up in the House committee for many weeks; during previous sessions of Congress it was also passed by the Senate but killed by inaction in the House committee.

At present writing it looks very much as if the bill may again be killed in committee. An interminable parade of witnesses, pro and con, has been called in by Wolcott and his confrères, in what can only be called an attempt at an indirect filibuster. Meanwhile, the tentative date for adjournment of Congress —now set for June 19—draws closer. If the "filibuster" should succeed, all hope for decent housing legislation must be put aside for at least six months, probably a good deal longer.

With this in mind, we asked each member of Congress to let us know whether he had signed, or intended to sign, the discharge petition, and whether he intended to support the T.-E.-W. bill —with its vital public-housing provisions intact—if, as, and when it came to the floor of the House. As we go to press, 117 Representatives, according to a survey of the National Public Housing Conference, have signed the petition. It would require 218 signers to blast the bill out of Wolcott's committee. That not very many of our elected Representatives are intensely concerned with the housing problem is indicated by the fact that only forty-one of them took the trouble to reply to *The Nation's* request for a statement of their position in this matter. Of these, the following thirty-four Congressmen notified us that they had signed the petition: Claude I. Bakewell, 11th C. D., Mo.; Hale Boggs, 2d C. D., La.; John C. Brophy, 4th C. D., Wis.; Frank Buchanan, 33d C. D., Pa.; Charles A. Buckley, 25th C. D., N. Y.; John A. Carroll, 1st C. D., Colo.; Emanuel Celler, 15th C. D., N. Y.; Harold D. Donohue, 4th C. D., Mass.; Helen Gahagan Douglas, 14th C. D., Cal.; Michael A. Feighan, 20th C. D., O.; Aime J. Forand, 1st C. D., R. I.; Edward J. Hart, 14th C. D., N. J.; Erland H. Hedrick, 6th C. D., W. Va.; James J. Heffernan, 11th C. D., N. Y., Chet Holifield, 19th C. D., Cal.; Merlin Hull, 9th C. D., Wis.; Jacob K. Javits, 21st C. D., N. Y.; Augustine B. Kelly, 27th C. D., Pa.; Eugene J. Keogh, 9th C. D., N. Y.; Arthur G. Klein, 19th C. D., N. Y.; Thomas J. Lane, 7th C. D., Mass.; William Lemke, at large, Minn.; Lewis Ludlow, 11th C. D., Ia.; Mike Mansfield, 1st C. D., Mont.; Vito Marcantonio, 18th C. D., N. Y.; William J. Miller, 1st C. D., Conn.; Abraham J. Multer, 14th C. D., N. Y.; James T. Patterson, 5th C. D., Conn.; Norris Poulson, 13th C. D., Cal.; Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. 22d C. D., N. Y.; Melvin Price, 22d C. D., Ill.; John J. Rooney, 12th C. D., N. Y.; Hugh D. Scott, Jr., 6th C. D., Pa.; Thor C. Tollefson, 6th C. D., Wash.

Here are extracts from some of the more interesting replies we received:

Housing for America was a wonderful issue. I read it with great interest.
Jacob K. Javits, N. Y.

Your requests are a bit confusing. In one paragraph you urge me to see that the bill is reported out of the Banking and Currency Committee. In the next paragraph you ask me to sign Discharge Petition Number 6. This petition would discharge the committee from all consideration of the bill.
Jesse P. Wolcott, Mich.

My consistent policy has been not to sign discharge petitions. However, when the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill comes before the House of Representatives, it will receive my most careful thought and consideration, and your comments will be borne in mind.
Harold D. Cooley, N. C.

Received your letter and will state that I am not interested in editorials written by so-called experts, especially on the shortage of housing. Anyone but a dumbell knows that there is a shortage.

I signed Petition Number 6, but I am very much afraid that the Taft-Ellender-Wagner bill is just another make-believe bill. Not it nor any other bill will accomplish very much until we stop depleting America of its natural resources by our international gangsters. . . .
William Lemke, N. D.

I have been reluctant to sign the discharge petition since my committee on Banking and Currency is holding adequate hearings on the bill. We are very hopeful to get the bill reported out for action in this Congress, and I have not yet (May 19) seen any signs of dilatory tactics or a filibuster.
Mike Monroney, Okla.

Thank you for your help. We are moving heaven and earth to get action on the T.-E.-W. bill. Obviously, Wolcott, who has sixty people still to be heard in hearings (May 25), is simply filibustering the bill in committee.
Helen Gahagan Douglas, Cal.

I do not sign any discharge petitions as a matter of policy. Furthermore, I am not too favorably inclined toward the features contained with the T.-E.-W. bill.
Ralph Harvey, Ind.

I signed the discharge petition months ago in the belief that this might help to secure action on housing legislation, but I regret to say the House Committee on Banking and Currency seems to be unmoved by the will of the people.
Aime J. Forand, R. I.

I want to compliment you on making public a list of those Congressman who have signed or will sign the petition.
Chet Holifield, Cal.

As a member of the Committee on Banking and Currency I am endeavoring to see that the T.-E.-W. bill is reported out of our committee. However, I also wish to inform you that I have signed Discharge Petition Number 6.
Frank Buchanan, Pa.

Some time ago I signed the petition. I am in agreement with the general pro-

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visions of the bill. . . I have found that it is not possible to state definitely how I am going to vote on a bill until the last moment, due to the fact that amendments are often proposed on the floor of the House. John C. Brophy, Wis.

I have signed the discharge petition. I am appearing before the House Committee on Banking and Currency this week (May 17) in support of the bill. Claude I. Bakewell, Mo.

You may be assured that this measure is receiving my careful and sympathetic consideration. I cannot say, of course, in what form it will be reported by the House Committee on Banking and Currency. The orderly legislative process requires that the House committee be permitted to act on the bill and send it to the floor, where it can be amended if it appears to be deficient in any respects. Albert L. Reeves, Jr., Mo.

CONTRIBUTORS

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LOUISE BOGAN is poetry critic of the *New Yorker*. Her most recent book is "Poems and New Poems."

ROLFE HUMPHRIES is the author of several books of verse, including "The Summer Landscape," "Out of the Jewel," and "Forbid Thy Ravens."

MILDRED ADAMS has been for many years a student of Spanish and Latin American literature.

THOMAS J. HAMILTON, author of "Appeasement's Child: The Franco Regime in Spain," is the United Nations correspondent of the New York *Times*.

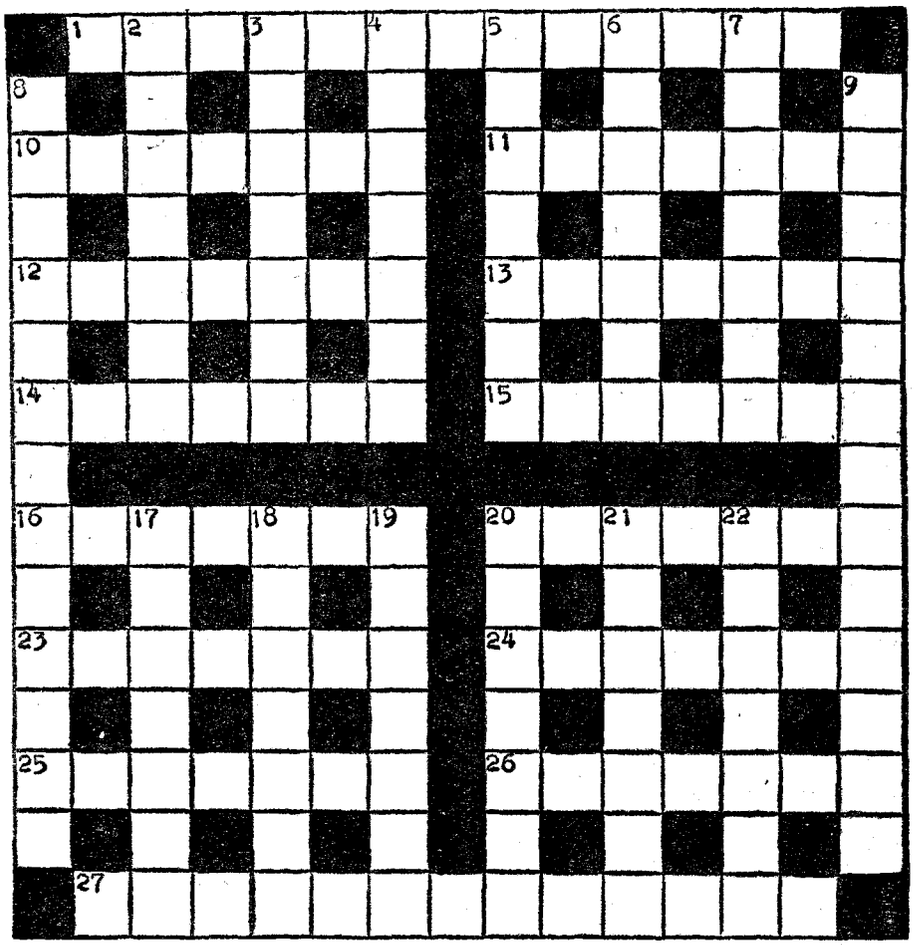
JAMES W. IVY, formerly on the staff of *Common Sense*, is now managing editor of the *Crisis*. He has made a special study of Caribbean problems.

CORRECTION

Through a typographical error in the article entitled Britain's Stake in an Arab Victory in last week's issue, the surplus of the Palestine government in December, 1947, was given as £50,000,000. The correct figure is £5,000,000.—EDITORS THE NATION.

Crossword Puzzle No. 265

BY FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 Dancer of the "Chinese Parrot." (13)
10 Winch, or a city in Conn. (7)
11 This is great at the races. (7)
12 This puts out a sort of termite. (7)
13 In general, one might be expected to back up to a well-known Socialist. (7)
14 More civilized form of fox-trot? (7) (hyphenated)
15 From one place of prominence on to another. (7)
16 A doll we permitted to remain here. (7)
20 How it gets around that a scene's been changed! (7)
23 Change, it seems, in retribution. (7)
24 Ah! A cute place to live! (7)
25 How to put the star in bit parts? (7)
26 Sometimes in the van, and yet behind. (7)
27 At last one might find a good working-place! (8, 5)

DOWN

2 This power might be expressed in anger. (7)
3 Impolite dog? (7)
4 How to come into things in their confusion. (7)
5 A shot might be, when you're pressed. (7) (hyphenated)
6 Uniform of the standing army. (7)
7 The worker might complete the sentence by adding "aesthetic representation." (7)
8 Location of the departed spirit of Wilde's hero? (2, 4, 7)
9 Garden where cauliflowers are raised. (7, 6)
17 Blum has been changed long since. (7)
18 What one should do after the bath? (7)
19 If you disturb this, it becomes severed. (7)
20 Piques. (7)
21 It's hard to find the pilot mixed up in it. (7)
22 It's 50–50 that you'll find all sort of aches around it. (7)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 264

ACROSS:—1 CORDWAIN; 5 PELVIC; 9 REBECKS; 10 CADAVER; 11 TARTINI; 12 COWSLIP; 13 HYPOCHONDRIAC; 15 CONSTRICTIONS; 21 DISPUTE; 22 EVEREST; 23 MERRILY; 24 ATTACHE; 25 COMETS; 26 SKYPILOT.

DOWN:—1 CARATS; 2 REBIRTH; 3 WICKIUP; 4 INSTINCTIVELY; 6 ENDOWED; 7 VIVALDI; 8 CARAPACE; 16 COCK OF THE WALK; 14 ACADEMIC; 15 NOSTRUM; 17 TOURIST; 18 ONE-STEP; 19 STENCIL; 20 ATTEST.

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